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Chicago The politics that works



PHOTOGRAPH BY Marc PoKempner

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THE INSIDE STORY



Alan Cranston courted a McGovernite following.

Mondale voted the Bay State's favorite

By John B. Judis

SPRINGFIELD, MA

The quest for the 1984 presidential nomination is beginning to resemble parents' efforts to win their children admission to exclusive private schools by enrolling them at birth. The 1984 campaign began in earnest in January with a straw poll taken by California Democrats at their state convention. The second round occurred at the April 9 Massachusetts Democratic convention at which 3,500 party delegates expressed their preference for one of six declared candidates.

In an age of political volatility and media campaigning, these pseudo-events have a real effect. They can make front-runners suddenly appear vulnerable and they can give an underdog new-found credibility, especially in raising money.

At the Massachusetts convention, the clear winners were former Vice-President Walter Mondale, California Sen. Alan Cranston and the AFL-CIO. Mondale showed that he was still the front-runner by gaining a plurality of the vote, 29.3 percent, even while his supporters among labor delegates simply cast their votes for "jobs," rather than for a candidate.

The Massachusetts AFL-CIO chose to abstain from declaring a preference in order to remain faithful to the national AFL-CIO strategy of picking a common candidate next December. It showed its clout by garnering more "jobs," 25.6 percent of the vote, which included those of virtually all the AFL-CIO delegates as well as some minority delegates and teachers.

Cranston showed that he is a far more viable candidate than the national press had anticipated by coming in behind Mondale with 16.9 percent of the vote, ahead of rivals Sen. John Glenn (D-Ohio), Sen. Gary Hart (D-Colo.), Sen. Ernest Hollings (D-S.C.) and former Florida governor Rubin Askew.

The clearest loser was Hart, who gathered only 10.5 percent of the vote among party workers who should have been more receptive to his candidacy. If the Massachusetts convention is any indication, Hart, who is trying to run against Mondale as the candidate of high-

tech modernity, will be squeezed out by Glenn on the right and Cranston on the left.

Mondale and Cranston had by far the best organizations in Massachusetts. Most of the delegates I talked to had received a personal phone call from both men. Mondale had the most to lose in Massachusetts, and was clearly threatened by labor's decision to abstain. But Mondale's support came from across the board. As the front-runner, he commanded the allegiance of moderate and conservative Democrats like Rep. Edward Boland, who wants to be on the winning side. Liberal delegates preferred him to Cranston or Hart because he was "a known entity" and "has been there before."

Mondale got the majority of black votes—one predominately black Boston district gave him 26 of its 42 delegate votes, with the next highest total, eight, going to "Jobs." All of the AFL-CIO delegates that I interviewed said they would have backed Mondale.

Mondale's speech was easily the least lackluster of the candidates. Delivered with some passion, it was sprinkled with references to Massachusetts' problems. But like other Mondale speeches, it suffered from the candidate's attempt to be all things to all interest groups.

At the convention Cranston sought the old George McGovern constituency of liberals and left-wing white professionals and students. From all indications he did well with it, even besting Mondale in one Cambridge district and in one upper-middle-class suburban district.

Cranston courted the nuclear-freeze vote. For example, Somerville City Councillor Sal Albano, a freeze backer, got a telephone call from Cranston's son Kim, and a meeting was arranged with the candidate at Albano's house. "Until I met him, I really wasn't for any of the candidates. The whole presidential poll was the farthest thing from my mind."

Cranston attended a caucus of about 30 Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) delegates that was held in a storage area outside the auditorium. Impressed by his attentions, several DSA members confided they would vote for Cranston rather than for "jobs."

In his speech to the convention, Cranston expanded his list of "overriding priorities" to include full employment as well as nuclear arms control. He promised to appoint a commission one week after his election that would draw up a plan for full employment that he would implement upon taking office. His son admitted to me that his father had not yet decided upon a policy that could work. "He's committed to the end but not the means of getting there," Kim Cranston said.

The candidate of defeated Democrats.

John Glenn, who received 15.3 percent of the vote, made a clear pitch for the moderate Democratic vote. In his speech, he echoed Carteresque appeals to complexity and promised to balance the budget and eliminate future tax cuts. (For an interesting portrait of Glenn and his campaign see David Osborne's article in the May issue of *Mother Jones*.)

According to Glenn's press aide Greg Shneiders, the Glenn campaign devoted little attention to the Massachusetts convention, believing that the people who vote in the state's primary would be more "friendly" to Glenn than the more liberal party delegates. Glenn's support reflected this. It was centered in white, anti-busing south Boston—where he had the backing of state Senate President William M. Bulger—and predominantly Republican western Massachusetts. In several districts, he was supported by delegates who last fall

had backed Gov. Edward King against challenger Michael Dukakis.

Boston City Clerk Jack Campbell was typical of Glenn's supporters. "Glenn is the only candidate who can win over Democrats who defected in the last election," Campbell told me.

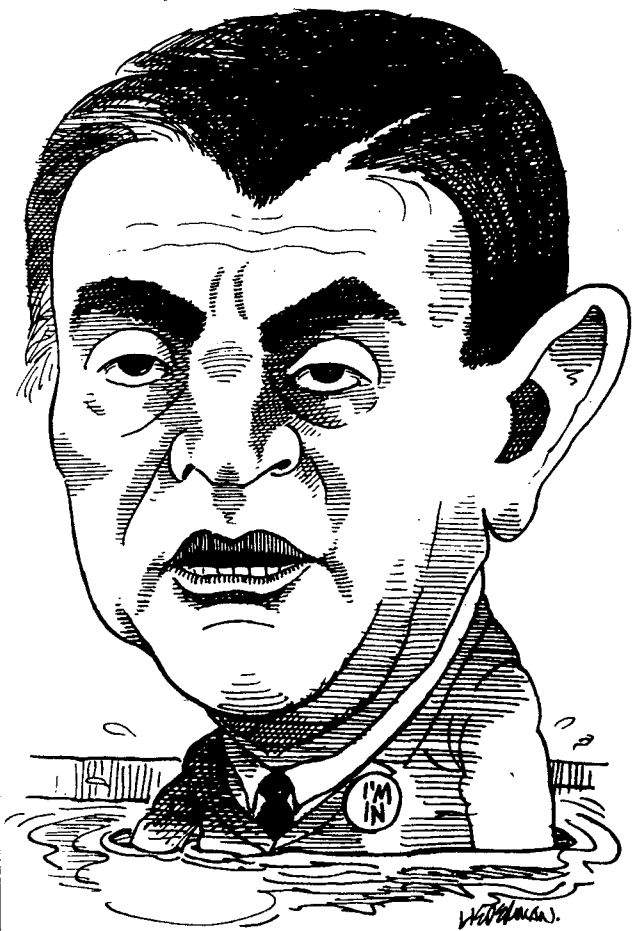
Among black delegates, I found considerable enthusiasm for a black presidential candidate. Boston state Rep. Bryan Rushing, who is also a minister, said there was "a lot of support" for such a candidacy in the black community. "We have nothing to lose," Rushing said, "and it might put us in an excellent negotiating position."

Boston delegate Stanley Jones thought that the threat of a black candidacy could be useful prior to the state primaries, but he was worried about the results. "I understand that any white candidate who comes out for a really strong civil rights stand will commit political suicide," he said.

If the Massachusetts results foreshadow 1984, the Democratic race will narrow down to Mondale, Cranston and Glenn, with Mondale the obvious favorite. Cranston's cadaverous visage still occasions intense skepticism among the national media, whose continuing interest he must count on. And the Glenn campaign's organizational abilities remain unproven, to say the least.

Cranston's success in Massachusetts does show that he can attract a McGovernite following. Yet labor and minority Democrats are likely to remain committed to Mondale, barring an Edmond Muskie-style collapse. Cranston's impulses on economic issues appear wholesome, but his grasp of economic policy and specifics may compare unfavorably with that of Ronald Reagan, not to mention Mondale and the other Democrats. ■

Fritz Mondale received the majority of black votes.



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IN THESE TIMES

Can William Ruckelshaus clear the air at the EPA?

By Jim Jubak

WASHINGTON

TEAR-ENDED ENVIRONMENTAL Protection Agency (EPA) employees pushed forward to shake his hand. Hand-painted signs spelled out "Welcome back, Bill." A feeling of relief hung thick in the air. For 25 minutes on March 22, thunderous applause answered almost every phrase as more than 1,000 members of EPA's embattled staff gave William Ruckelshaus a savior's welcome.

Three of the men still running EPA watched quietly from the sidelines: acting administrator John Hernandez, assistant administrator John Todhunter and general counsel Robert Perry. The weeks since the resignation of EPA administrator Anne Gorsuch hadn't brought

Reagan wants more control on environmental policies.

an end to the flood of charges still spilling out of the six congressional committees investigating the agency.

Hernandez had made no secret of his desire to take over the top spot at EPA prematurely. But by naming Ruckelshaus, the head of EPA during its first years, to resume running the agency, Reagan had made it clear that he believed anyone connected with the scandal-ridden team at EPA wouldn't be able to restore public confidence in the nation's environmental program. In the next few days, all three of the officials would resign.

Will Ruckelshaus be able to turn the tide? He definitely brings impressive credentials to the task. Even the harshest administration critics within the environmental movement admit that he was an even-handed and competent administrator during his earlier tour at the agency from 1971-73. Then, while assistant attorney general, Ruckelshaus added to his reputation for integrity by choosing to resign rather than fire special Watergate prosecutor Archibald Cox. So it's hard to label Ruckelshaus with the "ideological crusader" tag that earned his predecessor so much distrust on Capitol Hill.

By going outside the fervently anti-regulation wing of the Republican Party, the White House was trying to prove that the change in management at EPA wasn't just an attempt to end an embarrassing political liability by reshuffling personnel. Ruckelshaus would have more authority and a free hand to set things right, the president's men told the press off the record.

But warning flags went up almost immediately, ending whatever brief hopes the administration may have had for calm sailing. Congressional leaders promised that their investigations would go on and promised more embarrassing revelations. And Ruckelshaus comes with his own potentially damaging baggage. In the 10 years since he's been out of government, he's worked as a private lawyer for a company that had produced polyvinyl chloride, a cancer-causing plastic, and for a construction company that had fought an EPA study of the sewage treatment plants it built. Since 1976, he's been a senior vice-president for the timber giant Weyerhaeuser, a company with a history of violating the nation's pollution

laws. In addition, he sits on the boards of at least four major companies that present serious conflict of interest questions for an EPA administrator.

Captain of his fate?

At first it seemed the EPA enforcement lawyer hadn't heard the reporter's question above the lunch-time noise in the dingy Capitol Hill restaurant. Actually, he was just taking time to answer.

"Who runs EPA?" the agency lawyer said, repeating the reporter's question. "The real pressure for cuts in staff and money comes from OMB (David Stockman's Office of Management and Budget)."

A few days after this conversation, the same lawyer would gleefully drink champagne at the announcement of Burford's resignation. But on this day he was pessimistic. He didn't think Burford was the problem at the agency. "I think she's an accurate reflection of Ronald Reagan."

If those remarks are true, Ruckelshaus may be in for a rough time during his tenure in this administration. Without an adequate budget, even iron-willed integrity won't be able to clean up hazardous waste dumps or enforce existing environmental laws. And without support from the White House, Ruckelshaus won't be able to stake out the reasonable positions so necessary for insuring his credibility with Congress.

The EPA that Ruckelshaus will inherit is too small to do its job. Its budget has been cut from \$1.4 billion in 1980 to about \$950 million for this fiscal year. The agency has lost about 3,500 employees in the last three years. And the situation is worse at the regional level. A recent EPA internal study shows that EPA's 10 regional offices need almost three times as many people to enforce the laws, spot problems and work in support of state officials.

Congress seems determined to give Ruckelshaus more money to work with. The Senate Environment and Public Works Committee has recommended a \$300 million funding hike for fiscal year 1984. Ruckelshaus presumably would have a hard time arguing against that increase, although it goes against the grain of previous administration environmental budgets.

But some environmental lobbyists see an emerging strategy that would let an acting administrator take the heat for battling against an increased budget. As *In These Times* went to press, the administration hadn't formally nominated Ruckelshaus for the top EPA position, leading some environmental leaders to wonder if the administration is trying to delay confirmation hearings until the budget question is settled. With time running out on preparing a budget, it's likely that Lee Verstandig, acting administrator at EPA and a former Department of Transportation official, will have to testify on the agency budget—and whatever he does can't be blamed directly on Ruckelshaus.

Burford never attained membership in the inner club at the White House; she had to submit all her policies through Interior Secretary James Watt, who often sent them back to the agency for further review if he didn't like them. Regulations and budgets also had to be cleared with OMB. Jim Tozzi—who one environmental lobbyist described as the "environmental hatchetman" at OMB—had substantial control over everything the agency proposed. (Sources say Tozzi will soon leave OMB.)

"It's unclear that [Ruckelshaus] got clearance from the White House on OMB for all his regs," says Marchant Wentworth, a lobbyist for the Izaak Walton League. "I expect that OMB will still be

in on decisions. They're the best ones to do that. They're out of the public limelight."

Ruckelshaus recently told reporters that he's been guaranteed direct access to Reagan, which would allow him to bypass Watt. This is somewhat reassuring to environmentalists. Yet in the same breath Ruckelshaus stated his support for the administration's environmental policies, especially its attempt to weaken the Clean Air Act. And at a 1981 Senate hearing, he had termed some parts of the act "unrealistic."

The White House, dismayed by the potential disaster still lurking at EPA, has moved to assume more control over environmental policy. White House staff is working on a major speech intended to allow Reagan to define and defend his environmental program. Watt has been making the rounds of the Sunday morning TV news shows, arguing that Reagan's environmental policies have been misrepresented by the press. One environmental lobbyist called Watts' song and dance—and his recent gaff implying that the Beach Boys had attracted a liquor-drinking, drug-using crowd to Washington's Fourth of July celebration—a "lightning rod" designed to draw attention away from EPA.

Weyerhaeuser is a true giant of the cor-

porate world. It farms trees in Washington state and Indonesia. It plants trees, cuts trees, makes cardboard boxes and builds houses.

It also has an environmental record that leaves conservationists shaking their heads. "I guess you could say Weyerhaeuser is one of the best of one of the most destructive industries in the U.S.," Dale Jones, an officer of Friends of the Earth in Seattle, told the *New York Times* recently.

From 1976 until the present, Ruckelshaus has been a senior vice-president of the timber giant. He has had responsibility for five departments: government affairs, corporate communications, legal affairs, the Weyerhaeuser Foundation—this is the one that interests environmentalists—environmental and regulatory affairs.

Between 1977 and 1982, Weyerhaeuser was cited by EPA for 277 air and water pollution violations. The company was assessed fines totaling \$855,361, and paid \$207,340. In an additional 1,304 cases, EPA found violations for which no fines were assessed. By far the largest of those fines was levied against Weyerhaeuser's Longview, Wash., plant. EPA assessed Weyerhaeuser of \$750,000 (a maximum of \$10,000 for each of 75 violations) for polluting water with wastes from the plant. In 1980 the company settled out of court for \$135,000.

In 1981, Environmental Action, a national environmental lobbying organization, named Weyerhaeuser to its Filthy Five list of the nation's most polluting corporations—and most politically active corporations. (The company gave more

Continued on page 8



Environmentalists are worried about Ruckelshaus' ties to timber, paper and chemical companies.

INSHORT

War comes home to France

The escalation of U.S.-directed military operations against Nicaragua's Sandinista government was brought home to the French public by the death of a young French doctor, Pierre Grosjean, who practiced medicine in the Nicaraguan countryside, Jim Cohen reports. Grosjean, 31, fell victim in late March to a counterrevolutionary raid in Matagalpa province. Employed by the French government, Grosjean was also a supporter of the Sandinistas' health campaign and a member of the Franco-Nicaraguan Committee for Scientific and Technical Solidarity. Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy, in an unusually straightforward foreign policy statement, denounced the "mercenary bands armed and trained in foreign countries who are attempting to destabilize a regime that grew out of a popular movement and overturned an internationally condemned tyranny." The Solidarity Committee and several related groups called for a demonstration the following day near the U.S. embassy in Paris. Among the 500 participants were several American citizens who carried signs denouncing their government's aggression in Central America and circulated a message of condolence to Grosjean's family and friends.

Indy 400

Four hundred churchpeople, union members and disarmament backers from all over Indiana marched against nuclear arms and U.S. intervention in Central America at the Naval Avionics plant in Indianapolis on April 9, Dan La Botz reports. The guidance system for the Cruise missile was developed at this plant, which conducts nuclear warfare research and development.

Speakers at the rally—including representatives from the Machinists, the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, the Coalition of Labor Union Women and nuclear freeze backers—demanded conversion of the plant to peaceful production with no loss of jobs. "Using military money means fewer jobs than peaceful production," said Bill Scanlon, 51, Trustee of Local 7706 of the Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers, who also argued against U.S. intervention in Central America. For Scanlon, who has a brother in the Maryknoll order, the connection is clear. "I know he could be killed with a gun made in the U.S.," he said.

Organizing protests in conservative Indiana is hard work, and demonstrators were buoyed by the turnout. "It's easy to march in New York or Washington, D.C.," said one. "If you can do it in Indianapolis, then, by God, you've got something going."

Koufax vs. Laffer

Forget about enterprise zones, industrial revenue bonds, a sub-minimum wage and other incentives to industry. According to the *New York Times*, a growing number of cities are looking to baseball for economic revitalization. With attendance at record levels last year, city officials believe that investment in baseball teams is paying off. During the 1960s only two of 15 new stadiums were privately financed—in St. Louis downtown redevelopment funds went to build Busch Stadium—and today only five of the 26 major league clubs play in privately owned parks. The return on the investment? In Oakland, the Chamber of Commerce says baseball directly contributed \$50 million to the city economy and indirectly accounted for \$450 million. Atlanta saw the number of large hotels in the city triple in the five years after the Braves arrived from Milwaukee. And during the 1981 strike it was estimated that New York city lost \$8.4 million in business. Other cities are apparently convinced that Sandy Koufax's curve had more magic than Arthur Laffer's—Denver, Tampa, Indianapolis and New Orleans are aggressively competing for new franchises, the *Times* said.

Beaten to the axe

Last week we reported that the Minnesota legislature was considering a bill cutting funds to nuclear war civil defense planning, which, if passed, would become landmark legislation. But Maryland beat Minnesota to the axe—a budget subcommittee deleted the \$77,000 and three staff positions set aside for nuclear defense planning, and on March 31 the legislature passed the budget as proposed. Vikas Saini of Baltimore's Physicians for Social Responsibility advises other civil defense opponents to consider the Maryland strategy. "We didn't sneak it in—there was debate when the budget was passed—but it's harder for them to hold up the whole budget process over a comparatively petty appropriation," Saini said.

Rich men, poor women

The "feminization of poverty" is no longer just sociological theory or feminist rhetoric—according to a recently released U.S. Civil Rights Commission report, it's now economic reality. Between 1960 and 1981, the commission found, the number of below-poverty-line households headed by women jumped 54 percent. Poor families headed by black women increased at twice that rate. If the trend continues, columnist Sydney Harris observed, by the year 2000 the only poor in the U.S. will be women and children.

—Joan Walsh

Exxon mine hits protest

CRANDON, WI—When the Exxon Corporation pulled out of the Colony oil shale project in Colorado and suspended copper mining in Chile, against a background of heavy losses on its domestic uranium operations, industry observers speculated that the energy giant was getting out of the mining business. But Exxon Minerals' application for a copper-zinc mine near Crandon filed with the state Department of Natural Resources (DNR) last December, indicates that the firm isn't ready to give up on domestic mining, despite serious economic and political obstacles.

Since it discovered the 75-million ton orebody in 1975, Exxon has hit innumerable delays in environmental and engineering studies for the proposed underground mine. Located at the headwaters of the scenic Wolf River in Forest County, the proposed mine would affect the area's extensive wetlands, underground water supplies and tourist industry. Indian tribes living near the mine site are already organizing to stop it. As one Exxon engineer said, "You couldn't find a more difficult place in the world to mine."

The mine proposal already has brought together Wisconsin's Indian tribes in unprecedented unity. In March 1982 the Sokaogon Chippewa, the Menominee and the Potawatomi tribes formed a Tri-Tribal Mining Impact Committee to study the mine's potential economic and environmental impacts on their communities.

Potawatomi and Chippewa who live in Forest County don't expect to benefit economically from the proposed mine. "All of the mining jobs will go to experienced miners who migrate to this area," predicts Potawatomi leader James Thunder. "The Indians will be left with contaminated groundwater from the toxic heavy metals in the tailings [waste] piles." A U.S. Geological Survey dye test tracing the path of potential mine pollutants found that instead of bypassing a wild rice lake the Chippewa depend on, the dye dispersed throughout the lake.

The mine site is also on a tract

of land the Chippewa say was given them by the U.S. in the 1850s, and it's the subject of a treaty claim in federal courts. The Dominican Sisters of Wisconsin have filed a stockholder resolution asking that Exxon not pursue the mine application until the Chippewa claim is settled.

The Menominee Indians, who live 30 miles downstream from the mine on the Wolf River, believe mine pollution threatens the life of the river they depend on for food and recreational income. Preliminary studies indicated that water pumped out of the underground mine could be recycled through a treatment plant, not discharged into the river. But Exxon's most recent studies estimate that 1,000 gallons of mine water per minute will have to be pumped into an upper river tributary, with uncertain environmental impacts. The Menominees are also worried about accidental discharges of sulfuric acid and toxic heavy metals from the 600-acre waste containment pond.

Support from the white populations of nearby rural townships will be crucial to the tribes' success, and surveys indicate a coalition may be in the making. Lincoln Township residents worry that mine approval would result in boomtown population growth, environmental pollution and increased local taxes, according to a recent study. COACT Research of Madison, which conducted the survey for the town, reported that 20 percent of full-time residents and 22 percent of seasonal residents "definitely or probably" would leave the area if mining began. Thirty-nine percent said they "did not want public officials to encourage the mine."

Much more is at stake at Crandon than Exxon's investment in a single mining project. More than 40 multinational mining corporations have leased 400,000 acres in Wisconsin's north woods for potential metal and uranium mining. If the Crandon project is approved by the state, it will, says Exxon geologist Edward May, open up "a new domestic mining district that will [make Wisconsin] a significant supplier of minerals."

But the DNR could take up to three years to review the Crandon proposal, enough time for the growing political opposition to get organized. Meanwhile, re-

ports American Metal Market, Exxon is working hard "to neutralize objections from environmentalists, residents and Indian tribes in the area."

—Al Gedicks



Defeated mayor Ruth Yanatta Goldway

Setback in Santa Monica

SANTA MONICA—In a setback for the Santa Monicans for Renters Rights, incumbent mayor Ruth Yanatta Goldway lost her bid for re-election to David Epstein, candidate of the opposition All Santa Monica Coalition. Two opposition incumbents retained their council seats, narrowing the Renters Rights' majority to a four-three split.

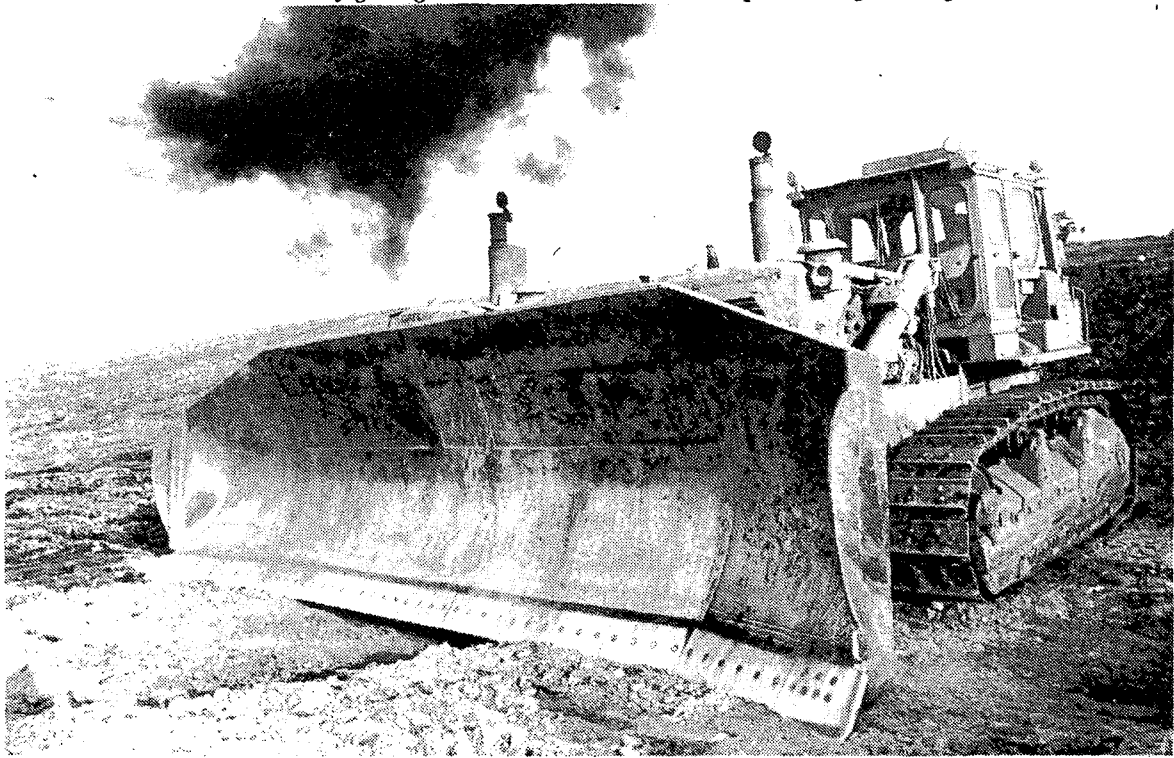
Renters Rights backers retained their control of the city Rent Control Board, however, and narrowly defeated an initiative that would have weakened condominium conversion restrictions.

"It was a close election and a setback, but we still have a progressive majority," Derek Shearer, planning commissioner and Goldway spokesperson, said. "It won't greatly change our programs, but it will slow us down from initiating new ones."

Shearer attributed the City Council upset to the high voter turnout in homeowner areas, which averaged 70 to 80 percent. "There was an effective fear campaign, using scare tactics about blacks moving into the neighborhood, energy czars coming into your home to check energy use and Communists running city hall," Shearer said.

In renters' areas the voter

Wisconsin Indian tribes are fighting a battle the Navaho lost—preventing mining on their lands.



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turnout was lower than in previous elections. "The opposition didn't oppose rent control but said they were for real renters' rights, they basically endorsed our program," Shearer said. "Consequently, people felt less inclination to vote."

The Renters' Rights slate characterized the election as a chance to win a seven-zero council majority, and that also galvanized the opposition. "Many people didn't want this to happen. It wouldn't have been representative of the community," said a spokesperson for the All Santa Monica Coalition.

The opposition ran an effective absentee ballot program, signing up people in nursing homes, for example. Three hundred to 600 absentee ballots still remain to be counted, the result of a court ruling that ballots could be accepted on the day of the election, after the opposition argued that some absentee ballots had been mailed out late. Although the city is contesting the ruling, counting the absentee ballots is not likely to change the outcome.

Admitting they had been out-organized, Shearer said the election illustrated one of the dilemmas of power for a left government: "We have spent the last two years running the city while the opposition has had two years to organize against us. We haven't been able to pay enough attention to organizing our supporters—that will have to be reassessed."

—John Raymond

pedience and disdain for professional standards," said Gischel, adding that "rules are bent and broken" and "problems get swept under the rug."

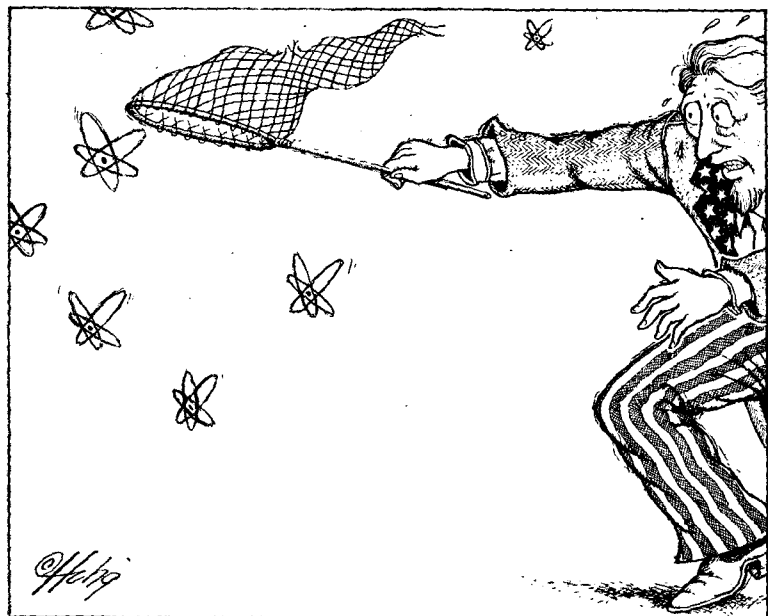
A polar crane damaged in the 1979 accident is being used without adequate testing, engineers say. Should the crane drop the 40-ton blocks of concrete it is designed to lift, it could damage the pipes carrying water to cool the still-hot reactor. The water cut-off could trigger an accident like the original one, again subjecting central Pennsylvania to the threat of a meltdown.

"Based on my observations, I believe the accident was due to a people problem that must have begun before the accident and still exists," the affidavit reads.

Gischel echoed earlier charges by Richard Parks, a senior engineer who has worked with nuclear power for the past 12 years and is an ardent defender of the industry. Parks was suspended with pay after filing a 56-page affidavit with the Department of Labor criticizing the clean-up operation and complaining of on-the-job harassment for his efforts.

Indeed, in a General Public Utilities (GPU) staff meeting held after Parks went public, Gischel reported, the project's deputy director wanted Parks fired, but others argued that he be transferred first, then gotten rid of quietly.

GPU spokesman Doug Bedell says the deputy director "doesn't recall that statement." He asserts the cleanup is proceeding in a



TMI cleanup "dangerous"

PHILADELPHIA—The \$1 billion Three Mile Island clean-up operation is under attack from unlikely critics—the engineers in charge of it.

Three top level engineers have publicly stated that carelessness in cleaning up the stricken reactor could lead to a repeat of the 1979 accident.

The latest affidavit received by plant owner General Public Utilities and forwarded to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission was filed April 2 by Edwin H. Gischel, Unit II engineer director. Gischel complained that the procedures used by Bechtel Power Corporation, the prime contractor for the cleanup, are "dangerous."

"The present mentality at the Island emphasizes shortcuts, ex-

"safe, orderly manner."

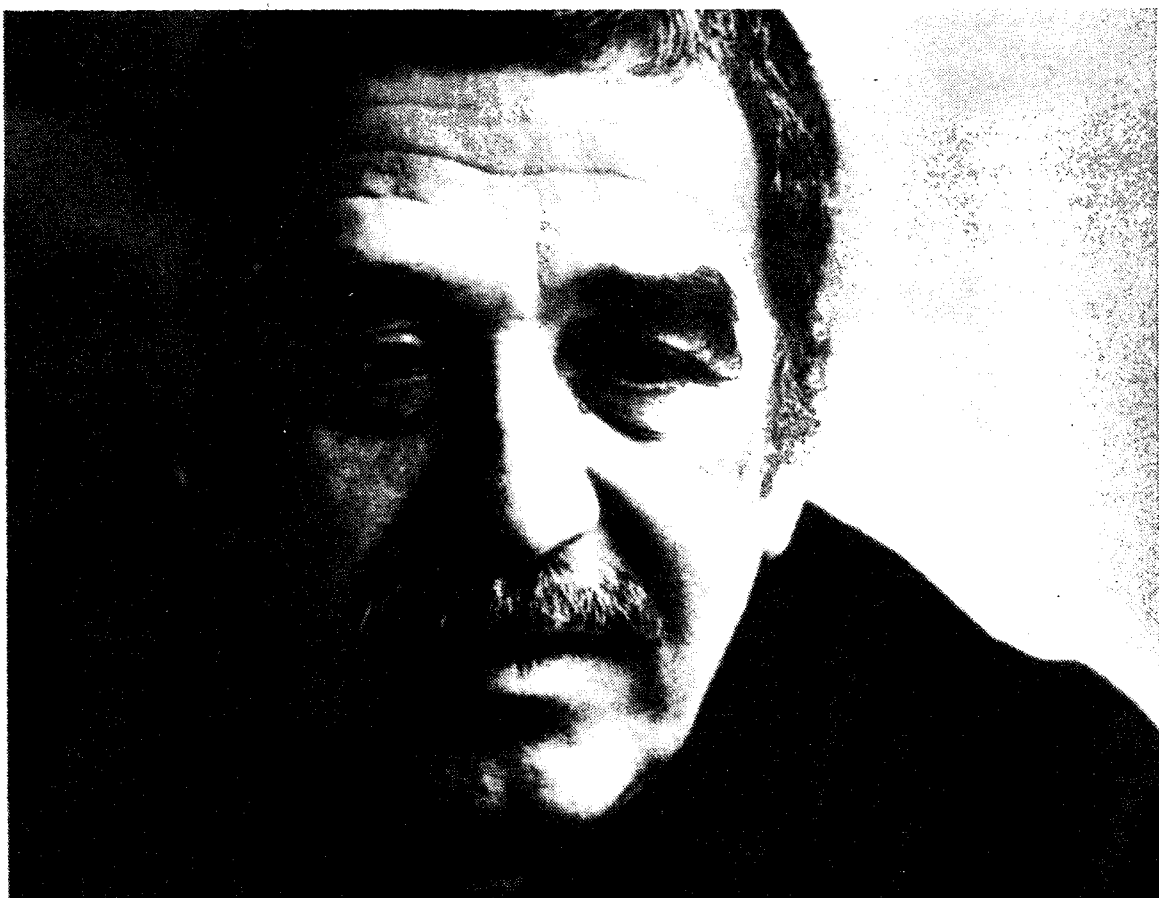
Parks' former boss, Lawrence P. King was fired earlier when he balked at the use of the polar crane. King had sent a memo to his immediate supervisor in November of 1982 claiming that radioactive materials from the plant were being dumped illegally.

"I don't need such a memo from you," was the written reply. "It's not constructive and wastes your time and mine."

The cleanup, which should be finished now, according to original projections, is only one-third complete and GPU officials are now predicting its completion by 1988. In addition to personnel problems, GPU and Bechtel are still unsure where they will get the estimated \$890 million to finish the job.

But the company is still pushing for a summer startup of the undamaged Unit One. Residents voted last May two-to-one against the plan.

—Bob Sanders



Before he was a Nobel laureate, Gabriel Garcia Marquez was barred from the U.S. as a "subversive."

Briefing: The McCarran Act: '50s relic at work in the '80s

WASHINGTON, D.C.—When Uruguayan-born author, critic and teacher Angel Rama applied for a visa to come to the U.S. in 1969, the document was stamped with the number 28. For 11 years, he traveled here on temporary visas, all of them stamped with the same number.

In 1980, Rama applied for another visa, this time to teach at Princeton. The clerk in the Barcelona, Spain, office glanced at Rama's documents and said, "But you're a Communist."

"What?" Rama asked in surprise.

"Yes," the clerk said, "28 means Communist."

The 28 corresponds to the last digits of Section 212(a)(28) of the McCarran Act of 1952, a law left over from the Cold War legislation used to purge American universities and publishing houses of left-leaning faculty and authors. Last year alone, more than 23,000 individuals had to be given waivers to enter this country on a temporary basis.

Section 212(a)(28) of the act provides that "aliens who write or publish or who cause to be written or published" anything deemed to support "world communism" are barred from permanent residency in the U.S. and can even be denied temporary visits.

So far, it hasn't mattered to the INS that Rama is a tenured professor at Maryland, one of Latin America's foremost literary critics and currently a Guggenheim Fellow. When he left for Spain in February to research a book, Rama had no guarantee he could return here.

The State Department and the INS have refused to disclose evidence that Rama is a "subversive," citing national security concerns. Rama likes to refer to that as the government's "Catch-28"—he doesn't know

why he is considered a subversive, yet he must prove he is not. Rama speculates that his classified files contain information on his work for a defunct, left-wing Uruguayan magazine and his several trips to Cuba and China.

The secrecy matches the case of exiled South African poet and scholar Dennis Brutus, a tenured Northwestern University professor who is being denied U.S. asylum. Like Rama, Brutus is considered an inadmissible subversive under section 212(a)(28) of the McCarran Act (*In These Times*, Feb. 2).

Each year since he was hired at Northwestern Brutus, an active opponent of apartheid in South Africa, had his British passport and American visa renewed and his work permit signed. All that changed in 1981, when his visa and work permit expired and were not renewed. According to a 1967 State Department advisory, Brutus is excluded from the U.S. because "of his membership in the Colored Peoples Congress [now the African National Congress] and his contribution of articles to... Communist-affiliated newspapers." That's the only evidence the INS will produce against Brutus—the rest is classified.

Brutus and his attorneys have challenged the government's right to classify that information, and are also preparing a lawsuit contesting Brutus' exclusion under Section 212(a)(28). If the suit proceeds, "it would be the first time anyone has challenged the procedures employed in classifying certain aliens 'subversives,'" said attorney Michael Maggio.

In 1972 the Supreme Court upheld Section 212(a)(28) as constitutional in a case involving Ernest E. Mandel, the Belgian

journalist and Marxian theorist who tried to obtain a visa to participate in a Stanford University conference. With six American professors, Mandel sued Attorney General Richard Kleindeinst and won when a lower court judge determined that U.S. citizens had a right to hear, speak and debate the Belgian writer. But the Supreme Court reversed that decision, ruling that the courts could not second guess the Attorney General's statutory authority to exclude undesirable aliens.

Rama, Brutus and Mandel are not the only distinguished foreigners to be denied visas on ideological grounds. Several Latin American writers, including the current Nobel Laureate Gabriel Garcia Marquez and the late Pablo Neruda have also been excluded under section 212(a)(28). So have Argentinian author Julio Cortazar, Mexican novelist Carlos Fuentes and French author and Cabinet official Regis Debray.

But the majority of the 23,000 individuals excluded each year are not distinguished authors or educators. Another South African exile who has never been granted even a temporary stay in the U.S. is Victor Goldberg, an accountant born in Johannesburg in 1928. He was "banned" by the South African government in 1959 for membership in the anti-apartheid South African Congress of Democrats, which the State Department insists—without producing proof—was affiliated with the Communist Party.

Goldberg's family moved to the U.S. because his son has an intestinal disorder and requires a special diet only available here. Goldberg, meanwhile, suffers from diabetes and a detached retina, but cannot enter this country for treatment or to see his family. His lawyers argue that the U.S. is violating Helsinki Accords provisions for family reunification, but the government hasn't listened. Neither humanitarian concerns nor intellectual freedom have much influence when the State Department sees red.

—Allan Ebert-Miner

By David Moberg

CHICAGO

“WAKE UP, EVERYBODY,” boomed the voice from a loudspeaker mounted on the car slowly winding its way through the Robert Taylor Homes public housing project on South State Street. “Vote for Chicago. You’ve got the power to make history today.”

Blacks throughout this city, many of them new voters, did wake up on April 12. With a large bloc of Hispanics, a crucial group of liberal whites and a small slice of loyal Democrats from white ethnic neighborhoods, they made history. With the election of U.S. Rep. Harold Washington as mayor over Republican Bernard Epton, Chicago voters turned back the tides of fear and racism that had been generated in the campaign and chose their first black mayor. Just as important, they also dealt a death blow to machine politics and established the beginnings of a new reform coalition that should shift the city—and possibly national politics—to the left.

Moved by hope of change and a new sense of power, the black electorate swelled—filling one of the “holes” in the voting population long regarded as a left constituency waiting for a leader.

Thomas Hooper, a 29-year-old recent junior college graduate, stood between the high-rise housing project—one of the legacies of machine policies that had made Chicago so racially segregated—and the polling place in the local school gymnasium. He simply reminded voters to be sure that the election judge initialed their ballots, since there was no need to plead for their support for Washington.

“A lot of my white friends say black people aren’t very political,” he said. “But they’d been double-crossed so many times, they felt there wasn’t a reason. Now they feel there’s a reason. This is the first time a large chunk of people thought about politics, thought it mattered. Like Washington says, it’s not a race question, but a question of power and greed [of those who have been in control]. If a white person had come and said the right things, we would have voted for him as the reform candidate.”

But Washington not only said the right things, but knew how to break the loyalty of poor blacks to the machine. “People now are ashamed to be associated with the machine,” Hooper said. “They used to be proud of it.”

Four new anti-machine black City Council members were also swept into office on April 12 in aldermanic runoffs, bringing the “independent” bloc to 15 out of 50 Council members—the core of a majority that Washington should be able to assemble on most issues.

Despite the obvious racial division in the election and the national publicity for a campaign sullied with crass racism from the Epton camp, exit polls taken of voters after casting their ballots showed 18 percent of whites voting for Washington—a significantly higher percentage than in all but one other northern city, Cleveland, where a black mayor first won the office. Washington also captured as much as three-fourths of the Hispanic vote, ac-

In the final days, Epton’s TV ads sold him as a moderate reformer.



IN THE NATION

cording to the Midwest Voter Registration Education Project (although other exit polls varied from 52 to 65 percent, with the upper range more plausible).

The only groups of whites who disproportionately voted for Washington were those with more than a college education (51 percent for Washington), Jews (33 percent) and self-identified liberals (39 percent), according to NBC’s exit poll. Poles and other Slavic voters, the largest white ethnic bloc, gave him only 4 percent of their votes. In the north lakefront wards, which have large numbers of white liberals and include some blacks and Hispanics, Washington won from 35 to 49 percent, averaging 42 percent. Many of the lakefront whites remained undecided until the last moment. Then, after much

as Washington won by a margin of 51.6 percent, beating Epton by 45,000 out of 1.3 million votes. Not only was registration up by several hundred thousand, but also 82 percent of registered voters turned out, a record for a municipal election. For the first time, blacks—who make up 40 percent of the city—were registered in the same proportions as whites and turned out just as strongly, possibly more so. It was a better showing than the primary, when black participation had jumped by roughly 20 percentage points over recent primaries.

The race became far closer than most observers had expected, largely because of the blistering Epton campaign attack on Washington’s personal foibles in the past, which bolstered an already formid-

MAYORAL ELECTION



Washington still has a hard row to hoe

agony, at least one third went for Washington.

The NBC poll suggested a curious pattern among whites according to age. Very young white voters were weak Washington supporters (12 percent of those 18 to 20, 15 percent of those 21 to 24), but 23 percent of whites 25 to 49 voted for Washington (followed by a sharp dropoff and then a slight rise among the elderly). This suggests that the generation touched by the civil rights movement and other political upheavals of the ’60s and ’70s were much more receptive to Washington.

Each sliver of support was important,

able anti-black sentiment that was especially strong on the city’s far northwest and southwest sides. This was compounded by strategic weakness and internal problems of the Washington campaign itself.

Troubled campaign.

For nearly a month after the primary, the Washington campaign was very low-key. Anticipating Democratic loyalties to hold better than they did and overestimating the ability of blacks to win without a concerted effort to reach whites, many on the rapidly expanding and overconfident campaign staff were busy jockeying for position rather than launching the general election campaign.

The campaign organization—born at a late date from a community draft of Washington and assembled as a coalition of people and groups with limited experience in electoral politics on such a scale—never established a coherent organization. Campaign manager Al Raby progressively lost power, eventually getting pushed out of his position just eight days before the election, and members of Washington’s congressional staff assumed more influence. But there was never a clear line of command. As a result, there were innumerable scheduling foul-ups, difficulties getting needed supplies and conflicting agendas, all executed inefficiently.

Within the first week after the primary, Washington went to the blue-collar suburb of Cicero—long a conservative, anti-black bastion—and joined the mayor before a union meeting, pledging to help

stop a factory closing. It was a brilliant gesture, attempting to overcome racial divisions by focusing on common economic interests.

Yet in the first month there were far too few such efforts to demonstrate that Washington took all parts of the city seriously. Although Epton never campaigned in black neighborhoods and Washington made repeated forays into all white and Hispanic sections of the city, the campaign did not effectively reach many whites with its issues before the onslaught of Epton attacks, especially the ads by John Deardourff with the now-notorious racial code, “Epton, before it’s too late.”

Epton concentrated his attacks on Washington’s past—his conviction for failing to file income-tax returns for four years and the suspension of his law license for failing to service clients adequately. The charges were exaggerated, especially in the wave of unsigned leaflets that inundated white wards, often with inflammatory racist attacks on Washington. But they sharply cut into Washington’s support among white ethnics and, more seriously for the campaign, the lakefront liberals. Many whites ignored or never knew Washington’s record or program and focused instead on his legal and tax problems, leading to a cynical judgment that they faced an unappealing choice between a schnook (or kook) and a crook.

“Washington is almost the last person I would vote for as mayor,” one middle-aged Hyde Park liberal said on election eve, “but Epton is the last.”

Following Epton’s attacks, Washington’s support went into what his pollster Pat Caddell called a “free fall.” But Washington and many of his closest aides refused to respond to Epton’s charges, insisting that Washington had already said everything there was to say—even if most whites had not been listening earlier.

Top campaign decision-makers also tended to dismiss the reaction to Washington’s tax and legal problems as simply a cover for racism. The charges did reinforce negative racial stereotypes. As one elderly white woman said, “That’s just the way the blacks are around here. They never obey the rules, even the traffic laws.” Also, Washington’s campaign snafus resonated with white prejudices that blacks were incompetent, even though every political campaign—including Epton’s—has its problems.

But the issue had an effect beyond its racial coding, which the campaign could have addressed more directly. In the final weeks, Epton staff fed tips to local reporters who broke stories about Washington not paying back bills or property taxes on a now-abandoned apartment building. Day by day, bit by bit, more revelations were made. The Washington campaign was diverted from its focus on its own issues as attempts were made to respond. (One water bill was actually the responsibility of the landlord of Washington’s office. Taxes on the building were to have been paid by the man who took it over from Washington, his brother and a housekeeper who had inherited it. Most of the bills were old campaign debts, not personal bills.)

Heading into the final week, Washington’s polls showed him ahead only 48 to 38 percent. Experiences in other cities suggested that undecided whites would overwhelmingly go against him. Although the free-fall had stopped, the campaign was still on the defensive.

The final push.

Then, just as the Epton campaign began to falter, Washington not only fought back but more aggressively courted white and Hispanic voters and sharply delineated the issues.

A revulsion began to set in against Epton’s campaign tactics. In the last week, the ads were changed to sell Epton as a moderate reformer and the “before it’s too late” slogan was dropped. Epton—who often gave flaky responses to questions, occasionally showed flares of temper and often legitimated racial hatreds with his coded messages—said less and less to supporters or the press. Most of his campaigning consisted of brief platitudinous speeches and hand-shaking, and he never introduced any issues besides Washington’s “integrity.”



Washington's final round of ads, media consultant Bill Zimmerman said, were designed to present a calm, rational pitch on behalf of Washington and his strong liberal legislative record and to play on emotions of backlash against racism. One TV spot interspersed kids saying the pledge of allegiance with shots of the abusive Palm Sunday protest of Washington's appearance with Walter Mondale at St. Pascal's church. But the most controversial—opposed by many black staff and described as “not to my taste” by Washington—linked the St. Pascal's demonstration to Kent State, Martin Luther King's assassination and Southern lynch mobs and asked voters to be sure they could be proud of their vote.

In the campaign's last week, the widely circulated (and totally unfounded) rumor that Washington was a child molester finally surfaced in the press. Taking a calculated risk, Washington denounced the rumors and escalated his attacks on Dardourff. Finally, some whites may have concluded that Epton's people had gone too far.

Washington had wanted to avoid personal attacks on Epton, who otherwise was vulnerable on various counts, including lying about the length of his military service in his campaign literature and concealing his psychiatric treatment in med-

ic records he presented to the press as complete. But Illinois Public Action Council, a statewide consumer federation that backed Washington, detailed Epton's role as “Mr. Insurance.” Epton had defended the insurance industry's interests in the legislature while his law firm made millions of dollars in insurance business. Washington picked up the theme, portraying Epton as a rich man taking a sabbatical to play with city government as a “toy,” and challenging Epton's conflict of interests.

In the campaign's final days, Washington reached out to white voters, addressed worries about his past, emphasized his commitment to political reform and attacked the “greed merchants” who were fomenting racial fears to protect their power.

For example, in the final Saturday of campaigning, Washington met with precinct workers preparing to blitz the south side, attended a campaign worker breakfast arranged by one of the few white committeemen openly supporting him (but still, like many others, reportedly letting his white precinct captains work for Epton), addressed 1,500 predominantly black ministers, made rounds of handshaking through black and Hispanic areas and joined a throng of 1,500 lakefront white supporters in an “issues fair” and rally.

“The battle cry of this campaign never was and never will be race,” he told the lakefront crowd. “It was and will be reform.” This provoked a chant of “reform, reform, reform.” Then, hitting the eight Democratic ward committeemen who defected to Epton, Washington said, “Greed is involved in this campaign, profit is involved in this campaign—and they're using race to cover it up.”

At the breakfast with some of Alderman Richard Mell's precinct workers, Washington emphasized his long experience working within the Democratic Party, but he also made clear his support for “neighborhood stability” and his past stands against “blockbusters”—realtors who stir up panic about neighborhood integration in order to profit from hurried sales. At every stop he emphasized that the problems of all neighborhoods were similar, differing in quantity rather than quality, and that everyone wanted better schools and transit, jobs and local economic development, and greater security from crime.

If Washington had approached the few white committeemen who were willing to cooperate with him and had made the same pitch to white neighborhoods immediately after the primary, some of his advisors believe that he could have reduced the damage from Epton's personal attacks and increased his margin among whites.

Strategic tensions.

Why didn't he? It appears that Washington expected the committeemen to come to him. He told *In These Times* he was surprised that they had bolted from the party. Some of them he quite rightly re-

garded as enemies of reform. But he was also convinced that as winner of the primary he had certain rights.

Despite his brilliance as a politician, Washington has blind spots. A strong streak of personal pride and stubbornness often appears to lead him to reject personally distasteful tasks—asking recalcitrant white machine pols for their support, talking once again about his past transgressions for which he feels he has already been inordinately punished. His lifelong independence and frequent lonely battles make him reluctant to turn his authority over to others.

Throughout the campaign there were conflicts between some black staff who did not think reaching whites was very important and white staff, as well as some older, more conservative blacks, who argued that it was essential to campaign hard for white votes. At times black advisors saw strategies designed to allay white concerns as undercutting black support—even though that was probably unshakeable. One ad with shots of Washing-



Washington hopes to instill confidence through an example of fairness in appointments.

ton and a narration by white Alderman Larry Bloom on Washington endorsing him over a large field of black candidates almost wasn't aired.

More than most black leaders in the city, Washington has an understanding and empathy for the problems of poor and working-class whites and an open identification with causes popular among liberal and leftist whites—as evidenced by his close ties with both the labor movement and disarmament groups. But Washington, like many of his closest advisors,

came to political maturity as blacks were still fighting for an end to restrictive covenants (prohibitions on the sale of homes to blacks) and the fight for open housing, which brought Martin Luther King to the city in the mid-'60s. Even though Washington sees many of the whites who fled neighborhoods as blacks moved in as victims of banks and realtors, the political consciousness of many of his advisors reflects those battles in neighborhoods where blacks were stoned and their newly purchased homes burned.

Memories of racial conflict run deep in the city. At a southwest side polka party for Epton just before the election, Helen Owada, a middle-aged clerk in a large mail order firm, worried about a possible Washington victory. “We'll have a lot of race riots,” she said, although most whites in the area expected riots if Washington lost. “When I was a little girl my dad told me about how they used to pull white people off the subways in 1919.” She may have gotten the story inverted—facts collapse before racial fantasies—but the longstanding fears remain.

Some of the misunderstandings are cultural. Jim Zimnicki, a 28-year-old electrical engineer, was also listening to Eddie Korusa and his Merry Makers at the Epton polka party (a sharp contrast to the lakefront blues and salsa benefits for young Washington supporters). “We're trying to hold our own,” he said. “We aren't interested in change. Washington says he's for reform, and we're not. I'm a conservative tiger. I like to hold fast to old ideals and beliefs.”

He contrasted his strict Catholic school upbringing with what he sees as undisciplined behavior by blacks and felt uncomfortable with Washington's unpriestly “evangelical preacher” style. “We only speak when we're spoken to,” he said. “No Lithuanian, no Polack speaks out and says, ‘It's our turn.’”

It will take great effort for Washington to bridge these gaps of racial antagonism, cultural differences and broad misperceptions (many whites, for example, think blacks get more than their share of city resources and services, even though careful studies show the opposite in most cases). During his victory speech, Washington called for a unity lunch with all the candi-

dates in the mayoral primaries and clergy of all denominations, including Cardinal Joseph Bernardin, the day after the election. (Epton, who had been snappish, mean and vindictive to Washington, the press and even his own supporters, refused to come, sending his brother instead.) There he pledged a “full and complete outreach” and resolved not to “perpetuate abrasiveness” in a city that was and will remain “multi-ethnic.”

Much of the racial antagonism toward him must “be resolved by the example of governing,” Washington said late in the campaign. Some of his first steps are likely to be establishing freedom of information to city documents and opening up the discussion of the strained budget (made worse when the federal government recently ruled that the city must repay \$26.8 million in economic development funds Mayor Jane Byrne misused for a short-term, make-work jobs ploy before the primary).

Washington hopes to instill confidence through an example of fairness in appointments. He has already assembled a transition team of a couple hundred re-

Continued on following page

Continued from the previous page
searchers and a long roster of black, white and Hispanic advisors drawn not only from labor, community groups and other liberal constituencies but also from the business and banking establishment. But beyond calming white ethnics and bankers, Washington wants to undertake a program of reform. Many Chicagoans cannot imagine that the machine will go. Eighty-five-year-old Vito Marzullo, the quintessential machine politician who backed Epton, said after Washington's victory, "The machine will never die. It's just different people in control."

But Washington likened the machine to a mortally wounded animal that will go off into the woods and die. For decades that machine perpetuated the conditions that made race such a volatile issue in this election—concentrating blacks in public housing ghettos, deliberately maintaining segregated schools, making no effort to maintain economic stability of neighborhoods that were integrating.

"In other communities across the country where there was sufficient democratic life, where politics was sufficiently in the citizen domain, people had opportunities and necessities to come to agreements and coalitions," argues John McKnight, associate director of the Center for Urban Policy and Research at Northwestern University. "The machine always acted to keep interests in enclaves and acted as broker. It always exacted a racial price for being the broker in the black communities. The black chip in the game was always half-price."

Instead of relying on patronage, political funds from city suppliers with no-bid contracts, a cozy relationship with favored business executives and speculators and the brokering of deliberately divided ethnic groups, Washington is likely to usher in a new era of city politics. That is likely to be based on a coalition of blacks, Hispanics, white reformers, labor, certain business and financial interests and those white ethnics who decide to cooperate. Washington intends to encourage neighborhood participation in government

planning, and will rely more on mobilization of community pressure to bring about a political majority than the traditional inside dealing. The excitement and involvement generated by Washington's victory should make that task easier.

Washington is also likely to make unionization of unorganized city employees easier. (Police, firefighters, teachers, skilled trades and some laborers are already organized). AFSCME (the municipal employees union), Washington's most active labor backer, will probably benefit. Generally, the role of the conservative craft unions in city politics is likely to subside in favor of more liberal industrial, clerical and municipal unions (although the police union is conservative and white police were leading Epton organizers).

The greatest challenge and opportunity is economic development. Despite the precipitous decline in manufacturing employment in the city and the rise of office or service work, Chicago still has a varied economic base. By the time Washington's transition team finishes its research on the city, he should be in an excellent position to coordinate the use of city fiscal policy, purchasing of goods and limited economic development funds to preserve existing businesses and encourage growth.

White flight, despite nervous talk, is unlikely, since many whites would find it financially impossible—as well as undesirable—to move to the suburbs now. At the same time, the suburban black population is rising more rapidly, reducing housing competition in the city.

Whites who nervously anticipate blacks taking everything from them or living on increased welfare payments might be surprised at black expectations from the new mayor. At the Robert Taylor housing project, blacks on election day were clear about their hopes—jobs, not welfare; harmonious relations with whites; a fair administration; improvements in schools and public housing; and the old basics—better cleaning of streets and parks.

"I hope he'll bring some jobs," said Ellen Lyles, a 27-year-old mother of two who is finishing a legal training program. "I hope we can all be one, black and white

and everyone else. Everybody help each other. Nothing is easy. But things could be better. A person can only do so much. I don't expect Harold Washington to give everyone jobs, but I expect some change."

Despite exhilaration in the black community, the expectations are measured. "Some people expect jobs, so there are going to be some disappointments and resentments after two years," volunteer Thomas Hooper said. "But people who have been around politics don't expect too much. The economy is screwed up. I'm just doing this for a new day."

EPA

Continued from page 3
than \$100,000 to candidates during the latest election cycle.)

When Reagan announced last month that Ruckelshaus was his choice to head EPA, Elizabeth Davenport, coordinator of Environmental Action, asked, "Can Ruckelshaus, who has spent the last seven years in the upper ranks of a company with a long history of pollution violations—Weyerhaeuser—restore the public's faith in the EPA?"

Ruckelshaus' membership on several boards of directors creates potential conflicts of interest. He sits on the board of the American Paper Institute, the timber industry's trade association. In 1979 the institute sued EPA to block proposed restrictions on water discharges. Ruckelshaus also has ties to Peabody International Corp., which makes equipment for handling toxic wastes; Pacific Gas Transmission Co., which recently bought a chemical company; and the Cummins Engine Co., which makes diesel engines.

Ruckelshaus' nomination has indeed put environmental groups in a quandry. The Senate is expected to overwhelmingly confirm him as head of EPA, and environmental groups don't want to alienate Ruckelshaus in case he means what he promises. In a conciliatory gesture toward environmentalists that is unusual for the Reagan administration, Ruckelshaus invited environmental leaders to an April 14 meeting and agreed to meet with several individually.

Environmentalists would love to get Ruckelshaus to go on record favoring improved environmental protection in his confirmation hearings in front of the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee, expected to be held sometime within the month.

The media's role.

Environmentalists and the Reagan administration do have one attitude in common: neither group thinks the media does a good job. "Where was the press when the Reagan fiscal year 1982 and 1983 budget came out and we were trying to get them to look at the effects of the demise of EPA on the health and well-being of America?" asks John McCormick of the Environmental Policy Center. "The press is interested in stories with a sunset. They're not capable of covering EPA day to day."

And from the coverage lately, it looks like night has fallen on the EPA story.

Most of the identifiable villains have departed the scene, but, according to environmentalists, most have been forced to resign because of charges that don't get at the heart of what's wrong with the EPA. John Todhunter, head of EPA's toxics and pesticides program, resigned after a flurry of charges claimed that he'd awarded a noncompetitive contract to a company for which he had once worked.

Former general counsel Perry faces charges that he violated conflict of interest laws by participating in the settlement at a Hamilton, Ohio, hazardous waste dump, where Exxon, Perry's former employer, was a potential defendant. Acting EPA administrator Hernandez submitted his resignation as evidence continued to emerge that he had blocked a cleanup of a poor Dallas neighborhood contaminated with lead and that he had ordered EPA employees to let Dow chemical edit a report blaming the company for dioxin contamination in Michigan.

But environmentalists are worried that the real problems with toxics, pesticides and hazardous waste aren't being addressed. On March 17, the congressional Office of Technology Assessment (OTA) released a study claiming that current EPA regulations encourage the disposal of toxic chemical wastes in landfills, even though the agency acknowledges that all landfills will leak eventually. More than \$40 billion is needed to clean up a "substantial fraction" of the 15,000 abandoned dump sites—a sum that dwarfs the current \$1.6 billion Superfund, according to the study. And current laws may be creating more abandoned dumps, the study notes, by encouraging landfills and allowing industry to avoid reducing or recycling wastes now.

A March 23 National Academy of Science study echoes the OTA findings and urges an end to landfill disposal of wastes. "There currently exists some technology or combination of technologies capable of dealing with every hazardous industrial waste in a manner that eliminates the need for perpetual storage," it states.

Will the EPA under Ruckelshaus begin to take a leadership role in protecting the public against toxic wastes? An efficiently managed EPA will not end landfills or prevent millions of Americans from being exposed to pesticides and toxics, since the laws addressing these problems currently aren't strong enough to do the job. The situation is so hazy now that it's impossible to predict the course of the new EPA administrator.

Everyone agrees that Ruckelshaus is a man of integrity, but only those inside the Reagan administration know whether he has been given the power to address the real environmental problems facing the nation.

Looking at the Reagan administration's environmental record, it's not hard to understand the sentiment of one veteran environmental lobbyist. Nothing has changed, he fears: "The question is how they're going to redesign their attempts to gut environmental programs."

Jim Jubak is an editor at *Environmental Action* magazine.

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LABOR

Unions split on immigration



By Debi Duke

WASHINGTON

THIS WEEK THE HOUSE AND Senate Judiciary Committees are scheduled to begin debate on proposed changes in U.S. immigration law. The AFL-CIO is a key supporter of the legislation, introduced in the House by Romano Mazzoli (D-Ky.) and in the Senate by Alan Simpson (R-Wy.). Within many unions there has been considerable debate about the AFL-CIO's support of the proposed changes as well as the related issues of organizing and representing

immigrant workers.

When the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) conducted a series of raids called Operation Jobs in the spring of last year (see *In These Times*, May 12, 1982), unions in the targeted areas responded quickly. "We felt we needed to do something concrete to defend workers in the face of Operation Jobs," said Muzaffar Chishti, a lawyer with Local 23-25, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union (ILGWU).

In an attempt to prevent future raids on union shops, the local wrote hundreds of letters reminding employers of their legal right to demand a warrant from INS agents who want to enter their factories.

Local 23-25 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union is 60 percent Chinese and 25 percent Hispanic.

The ILGWU also asked employers to notify the union immediately if INS agents telephoned or arrived at their factories.

After Operation Jobs, nearly all affected unions offered legal assistance to arrested workers. Several went further, filing law suits on behalf of members and potential members whose rights were violated. In some unions, Operation Jobs also brought new urgency to the task of making the labor movement more attractive to immigrant workers and fueled the debate over whether undocumented workers should be organized at all. (Ex-

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perts estimate that there are three to six million undocumented workers in the U.S. today.) Operation Jobs also stepped up the debate over whether or not U.S. immigration laws should be changed and, if so, to what degree.

Local 164 of the International Molders and Allied Workers Union (Molders) in Oakland, Calif., filed a suit against the INS as a result of raids conducted at foundries where the local represents workers. The union charged the raids were conducted illegally and violated the constitutional rights of its members, including the right to due process and legal counsel.

Ignacio de la Fuentes, a business agent with Local 164, said, "It was so obvious that they were discriminating; they only questioned and picked up brown-skinned people. Thirty to 35 percent of our members are Latinos, so we felt it was our responsibility to respond."

Local 2 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees (HRE), Local 6 of the Longshoremen's Union, and several minority and civil liberties organizations, have joined the Molders in the suit. "Our aim," said de la Fuentes, "is to win damages for those arrested illegally and to get an injunction to keep them from raiding workplaces we represent."

A federal judge has issued a temporary injunction requiring the INS to produce a search warrant if it wishes to question workers at plants represented by the plaintiffs. The union's request for a permanent injunction is still pending and the argument for damages is scheduled to be heard later this month.

In 1977, the ILGWU filed a similar suit after the INS raided two garment factories in southern California and arrested 162 workers. The union argued that surrounding a factory and blocking entrances constituted illegal search and seizure. In July of last year, a Federal appeals court ruled in favor of the ILGWU, saying that the INS must have a valid warrant if it wishes to enter a factory. The warrant must state who the INS is looking for and why it believes that person is likely to be found in a particular factory. In addition, the court said that before the INS can obtain or question a worker it must be able to "articulate a reasonable suspicion that the questioned person is an alien illegally in the country."

Continued on page 18

CONGRESS

Rep. Morrison's first 100 days has highs and lows

Last November American voters sent to Congress the largest new class of Democrats since the Watergate backlash of 1974. Bruce Morrison, who represents Connecticut's third congressional district, was elected president of the new Democratic class in January. At that time he outlined for In These Times what he would do in his first term. The following article is the second in a series by New Haven reporter Paul Bass that follows Morrison during his tenure in the House.

By Paul Bass

NEW HAVEN, CT

AFTER 100 DAYS IN CONGRESS, Bruce Morrison is getting paranoid. He says "somebody" in the House leadership prevented him from trying to amend the Social Security bill. Briefings with U.S. military planners make him nervous, too. And he wonders who at the local daily newspaper keeps burying his accomplishments near the obituaries while giving prominent headlines to the Republican he defeated in November—a Republican who has already vowed to defeat Morrison in 1984.

But so far Morrison's paranoia has given his supporters nothing to fear. The 38-year-old former legal aid lawyer hasn't sold out the unionists, environ-

mentalists, feminists and nuclear freeze supporters who elected him to Congress.

"He's been perfect on the issues," says Mitchel Edelstein, who monitors Congress for the liberal Washington-based Americans for Democratic Action (ADA). "And he's been able to get things done—which is unusual for a freshman."

ADA and others take special interest in whether Morrison keeps on that course since his victory last fall over Reaganite Larry DeNardis hinged on the same issues that concern those who are frustrated with Ronald Reagan's position on the nuclear freeze, unemployment and corporate responsibility, Social Security and foreign policy, especially in Central America.

Up to now, Morrison has allied himself visibly with fellow Connecticut Rep. Sam Gejdenson, who received a 100 percent rating from ADA last term and voted against Reagan more than any other House member. It was a joint venture with Gejdenson—an effort to alter the Social Security bill that passed in both houses in March—that has caused Morrison the most embarrassment in office.

Gejdenson and Morrison had prepared a proposal to prevent a six-month freeze on the cost-of-living adjustment in the bill and to oppose including federal workers in the program. But the rules committee voted against putting the proposal on the House agenda, so Morrison and Gej-

denson planned to call for a record vote on the floor on whether to consider their proposal.

Yet when the opportunity to call for the vote came up, Morrison and Gejdenson were outside the House chambers, giving a press conference on that very proposal. They blew it.

Morrison says the staff of the House leadership "misinformed" him about when debate would end and the opportunity would come up for a record vote. "Somebody didn't want it to happen," he says. "Next time we'll know not to rely" on that kind of information.

His constituents back home heard about the incident in detail—twice. Both times it appeared on the front page of the *New Haven Register*, whose Washington correspondent, after ignoring Morrison's Social Security proposal in the first place, proclaimed that the freshman was caught with egg in his face. The *Register's* readers were more accustomed to stories about Larry DeNardis, although he no longer holds office. The newspaper endorsed DeNardis in the election and has since written several articles about how the Republican plans to announce that he will run against Morrison in 1984. The paper also repeats DeNardis' unsubstantiated claims that he didn't "deserve" to lose in the last election.

The newspaper's stance so angered Morrison that he recently chewed out a *Register* reporter—even though he knows she isn't among his detractors at the daily. Morrison shouldn't be surprised. The fact that he has already acted on a number of the promises he related to *In These Times* about his first term in Congress would hardly endear him to a staunchly Republican newspaper that regularly editorializes against the nuclear freeze, gay rights and many of the positions Morrison holds.

Morrison had promised to oppose any

efforts to cut the cost-of-living adjustment or raise the retirement age when the Social Security bill came up for a vote—that's why he voted against the package that Congress passed last Month. The package "saves money because people die," he says. "It hurts people at the bottom of the economic order." The poor die earlier because they have more stressful jobs; only the rich will benefit from the new bill, according to Morrison. Instead, he called for raising the cap on taxing Social Security recipients based on their income level. In addition, he advocated modifying how the initial benefit is calculated, instead of tinkering with the cost-of-living adjustment.

Morrison also promised to oppose the B-1 and the MX and to support the freeze. He has already openly stated his support for the freeze and helped coordinate the participation of Connecticut freeze groups in a March 8 Washington pro-freeze demonstration. He says the briefings that the State Department holds with members of Congress have only strengthened his conviction that plans for new weapons systems are insanely dangerous. "I'll tell you, these people have talked themselves into a totally unrealistic world. They're talking about the fifth nuclear exchange. I'm more convinced than ever that this is not the way out."

In the area of Central American policy, Morrison hasn't taken the lead in opposing the Reagan administration's covert war in Nicaragua or its continued military aid to El Salvador. He says enough other representatives have led that fight, so he has settled for co-signing letters of protest to the State Department and bills to cease covert operations in Central America and to return authority for such decisions to Congress.

As for his promises on housing issues,

Continued on page 18

MEXICO

Liberation theology converting Church

By Judith Matloff

MEXICO CITY

THEIR ENEMIES CALL THEM "Communists," "guerrillas" and "devils." Their supporters say they're the only ones who help the downtrodden. And this new breed of Mexican bishops and priests say they are answering the Bible's call.

As Mexico's poor are hit by the weight of the worst economic crisis and austerity measures in decades, a growing number of Mexican bishops have settled in

to fend and provide shelter for thousands of Central American refugees.

"These guys helped the refugees when no one else did," says one Catholic relief worker. "They really understand what Christianity means."

But this new breed of Catholics met staunch resistance from local bosses, or *caciques*, local paramilitary groups and Guatemalan soldiers crossing into Mexico and sometimes resorting to violence, killing defenseless refugees—and clergymen.

Just days after eight Pacific Coast bishops condemned Guatemalan government repression last spring, a Mexican

clergyman, Indians and workers who are trying to organize independent unions.

"As a bishop I ask my diocese to follow the truth, for our Christian commitment is to the weak," Lona said. "But I and some of my collaborators have suffered the attacks of those who are slaves of [the few] and don't want to help the poor."

The resistance.

Resistance to the liberal bishops' trend has also come from the top. The capital's head, cardinal, Ernesto Corripio Ahumada, has steadfastly condemned the "Marxist" current and relocated urban priests working in base communities or grassroots prayer and political action groups.

Local liberation theologians even believe Corripio to be indirectly behind last October's beating of a radical priest in Huipilco, in the outskirts of Mexico City. Whether true or not, their charge indicates the rift between hierarchy and rank and file in a formerly unified Church. Eight powerful Mexico City bishops and Vatican Representative Jeronimo Prigione are backing the cardinal.

The tensions between liberal and traditional church camps were highlighted recently by the controversy over the retirement of leading "Red Bishop" Sergio Mendez Arceo of Cuernavaca. A special object of Corripio's criticism, Mendez Arceo is a controversial left figure. A friend of Fidel Castro, he has tried to make his political sermons more accessible by introducing mariachi bands and "dialogs" with atheists into his congregation.

Stressing liberation theology's call for church simplicity, Mendez Arceo—an imposing and charismatic figure—stripped Cuernavaca's huge cathedral of some of its baroque saints and democratized his diocese's hierarchy. But Mendez Arceo has encountered difficulty in trying to win the backing of conservative churchmen, which comes in part from his support of Mexican workers and Central American revolutionaries.

Mendez Arceo is a household name in both international and Mexican politics. He was the only bishop who attended the 1972 international "Christians for Socialism" meeting in Chile. He is on the board of an international Salvadoran solidarity group. He took part in a recent "Peoples' Tribunal" on Guatemalan refugees in Spain. And his Sunday sermons were published weekly in one of Mexico's leading dailies, *Unomásuno*.

The bishop's stance triggered Vatican Representative Prigione's reprimand last July that Mendez Arceo "is one of those out-of-tune voices singing outside the chorus."

Another conservative Mexico City bishop, Genaro Alamilla Arteaga, said that Mendez Arceo's supporters, "because of a poorly founded fondness" for Mendez Arceo, "organize protests in a cheap political style—carting in demonstrators with promises of sandwiches."

The conservative leaders' dislike of

Mendez Arceo was behind their attempt to insure his term was not extended.

Although the Cuernavaca diocese petitioned the Pope to extend Mendez Arceo's time—which ended when he reached the mandatory retirement age of 75 last October—Mexico City church sources reported that Corripio and his men intervened with the Vatican, which ignored the diocese's plea, even though requests in and out of Mexico to extend other bishops' terms have been granted before. On January 3, Mendez Arceo gave his last sermon as Cuernavaca's Archbishop.

Although the bishop never publicly pushed to extend his term, his farewell words in the press revealed a great desire to stay on. "I am not accustomed to yearning for the impossible. It was clear I would not be granted [the extension] nor be asked to stay on," he said.

According to Mendez Arceo, the "sensitive and endearing" request of the Cuernavaca diocese to extend his term never received a response.

Mendez Arceo's departure is also significant because several liberal clergymen had feared the reformist current would suffer setbacks when its most outspoken torchbearer stepped down. His successor, Juan Jesus Posadas Ocampo, is generally viewed as a moderate, "balanced thinking" bishop who supports the poor without taking as firm a stand.

"Mendez Arceo's charisma and vision are hard to match," said Jose Alvarez Icaza, director of the religious information center CENCOS.

"While other 'radical' bishops like Samuel Ruiz and Arturo Lona are interested in local issues, Mendez Arceo grapples with both Mexican and international matters," he said.

But Mendez Arceo's friend and biographer, Gabriela Videla, says he will be true to his pledge to stay vocally on the scene—with or without a diocese. Moreover, she says, Mendez Arceo left a legacy—an activist tradition—with the Cuernavaca diocese. Just 75 kilometers southwest of the capital, Cuernavaca's religious community is one of the country's most influential and organized, regularly sprouting human rights and grassroots groups. Many church observers also feel this reformist wing gained ground with November's election of liberal Bishop Sergio Obeso Rivero to replace Corripio as president of the Mexican Bishops' Conference.

With the election, Obeso, the Archbishop of Jalapa, Veracruz, assumed one of Mexico's most influential church positions. Although admittedly more moderate than Mendez Arceo and not a self-declared liberation theologian, Obeso has reportedly backed Indians and farmworkers in conflicts with large landholders and has blasted official corruption and the possible introduction of the death penalty—stances radically different from Corripio's.

"Obeso could well become the liberal camp's next standard-bearer," said one Catholic layperson close to Mendez Arceo.

But with or without Mendez Arceo, the liberal church trend is not about to disappear. Other "red bishops" like Ruiz, Lona and Carrasco release a steady stream of swipes against local and government authorities. And Mexico City churchpeople say that 55 percent underemployment, skyrocketing inflation and mass layoffs have led to an increase in base communities organized by lower clerical levels.

Says base community worker Maria Luisa de la Linde, "We meet the needs of the people. And as long as we do that, nothing will make us go away."

Judith Matloff is a journalist living in Mexico City.



Mexico City churchpeople say that 55 percent underemployment, skyrocketing inflation and mass layoffs have led to an increase in base communities organized by lower clerical levels.

impoverished communities and have publicly denounced greedy landowners, repressive members of the military and cutbacks in public spending.

"Some people cannot survive with inflation, while others, driven by ambition for power and money, dominate their own people by terror and assassination," says Bartolome Carrasco, the bishop of Oaxaca City.

"I am politically active not to destabilize the government, but to do good for all," he explains.

Like their counterparts in the rest of Latin America, a swelling tide of Mexican churchpeople and laity have disturbed conservative colleagues accustomed to opulent lifestyles and gold-laden churches by latching onto a trend born of the 1962-65 Vatican II conferences that called for taking the Bible to grassroots prayer and political action groups.

This trend, liberation theology, has picked up steam—and criticism—particularly in Mexico's poor and predominantly Indian Pacific Coast, where five bishops and scores of priests and laity were the first people two years ago to de-

priest from the border state of Chiapas who had given asylum to three Guatemalan refugees was found brutally tortured to death. The region's archbishop, Samuel Ruiz, said he believed the violent act was the work of Guatemalan soldiers during one of their various incursions into Mexico. Then in a separate incident, three priests in Comitán, Chiapas, were badly beaten by men with black-painted faces.

Particularly under fire from local *caciques* has been Arturo Lona Reyes, the Bishop of Tehuantepec, the swampy Oaxaca city on the road to Guatemala.

The soft-spoken Lona, who often goes into the mountains to organize Zoque Indians and has backed local student struggles, says he has suffered several attacks on his life. "They were going to kill me for 50 pesos (40 cents)," he said, in reference to some starving peasants who confessed that large landowners hired them to kill him.

The Tehuantepec isthmus region is indeed one of Mexico's most volatile and poorest areas, with more than occasional reports of goons, hired by large landholders and *caciques*, attacking peasants, stu-

Mel Rosenhol

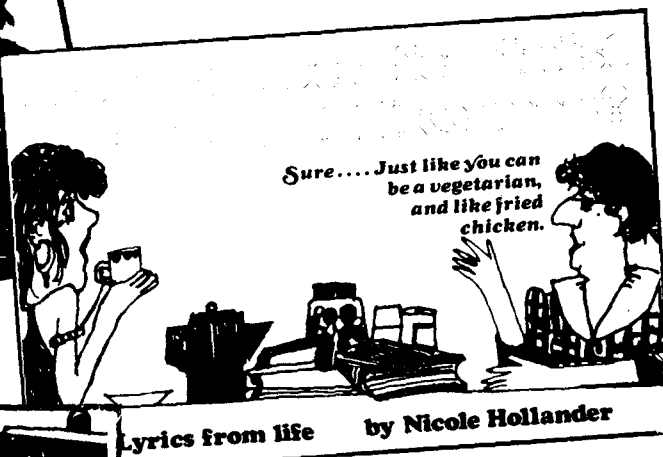
This trend has picked up steam—and criticism—particularly in Mexico's poor, predominantly Indian Pacific coast.

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IN THESE TIMES

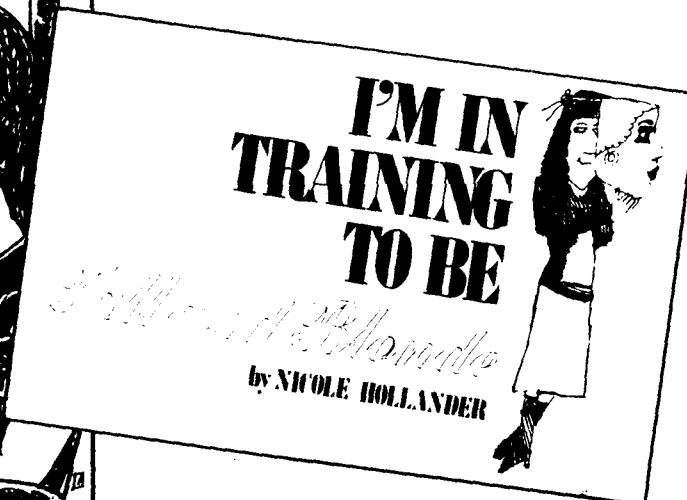
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BEST

Holly Near

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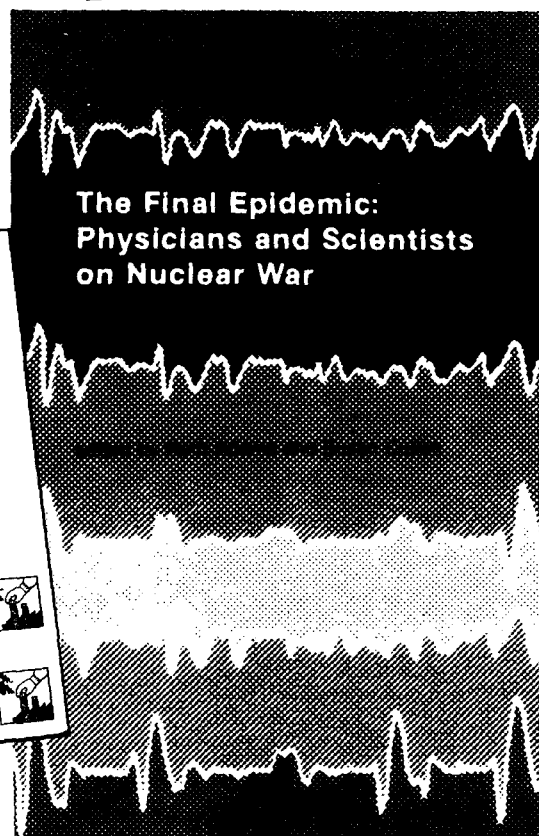
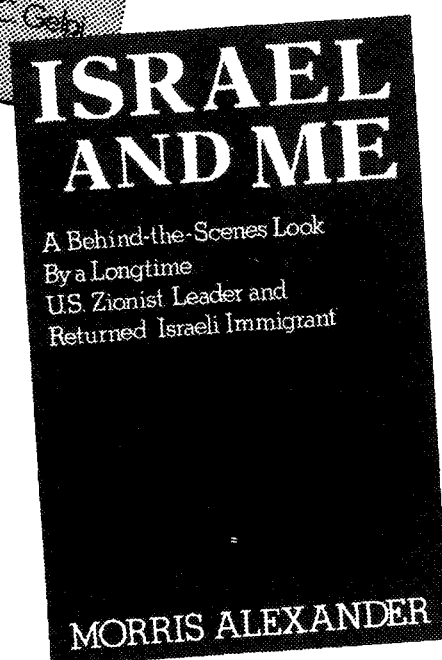
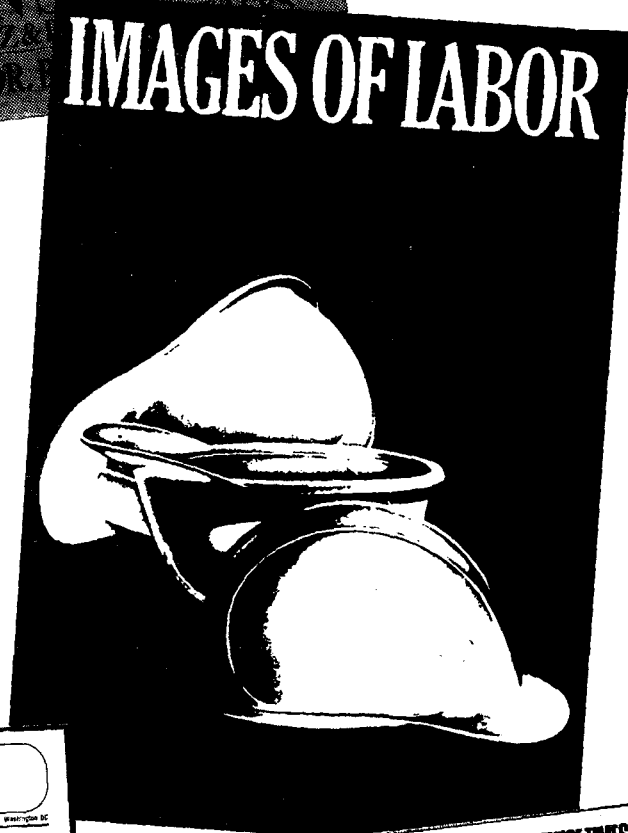
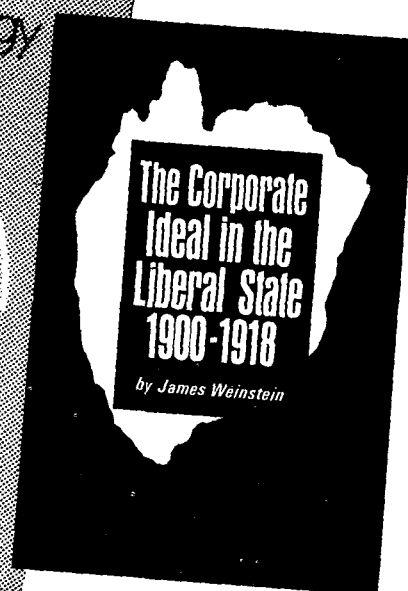
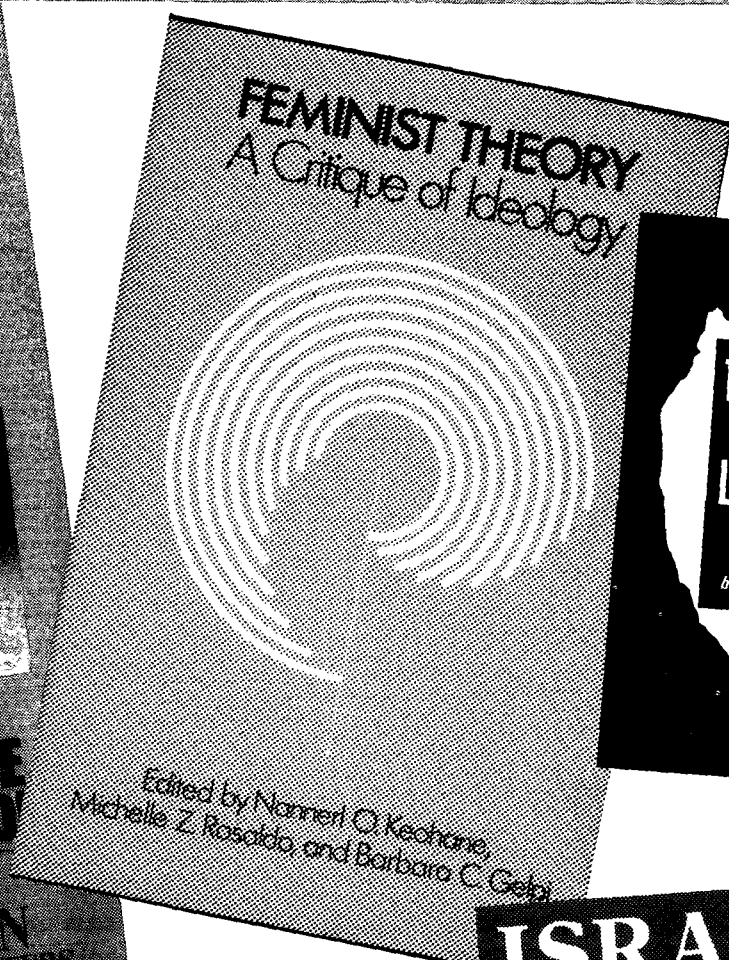
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EDITORIAL



Washington victory ushers in a new era of coalition politics

"We were slow to move from the protest movement into politics," Harold Washington said just after he won the Chicago Democratic mayoral primary in February. "We were lulled to sleep thinking that passing a few laws was enough. But we've got to be involved in the mainstream political activity. That's what's happening here in Chicago," he added. "And that's the lesson that's going out across the country."

This "coming into political maturity" of minority groups that, as Washington says, once thought simple street protests were enough took a giant leap forward on April 12 when a sizable majority of Hispanic voters and enough left and liberal whites joined the overwhelming majority of blacks to give Chicago its first black mayor.

This was a victory for the left, both in the sense that the natural left constituencies—blacks, Hispanics and the labor movement—were its basis and in the sense that organizational support for Washington outside the black community came from left groups ranging from unions like AFSCME to the National Organization for Women to the Democratic Socialists of America. And it was a victory over racism in the most highly segregated of American cities, even though the election also demonstrated how deeply divided Chicago's working people are by race.

The growing maturity of which Washington speaks was demonstrated in the high degree of organization in the black community—organization that brought close to 90 percent of the eligible voters in black wards to the polls, thereby continuing the reversal that began last November of the traditional pattern of low black turnouts. But it was also demonstrated in the aldermanic races, which indicated that this was not only an effort to put a black man in office, but also an attempt to get a new kind of representation.

Machine incumbents were defeated in five black wards, as was a machine-backed candidate in one other ward where there was no incumbent running. (Machine candidates also lost in three predominantly white wards where Washington averaged 13 percent of the vote.) The defeat of these machine candidates was a result of the large turnout, which brought voters with more independent tendencies into the electorate and has created the potential for a new kind of politics in Chicago.

Shift to the left.

We have frequently argued that the American people, unlike Europeans, do

the labor movement and to the interests of working people may enable him to erode racist fears and hostility toward him among working-class ethnics.

But the problems facing Chicago, like those facing all of the old industrial cities, are immense, and the resources available for solving these problems are inadequate and shrinking. In this context, any mayor—conservative, liberal or socialist—must help maintain or create a climate attractive to business. Washington has made it clear that he understands this and has indicated that he will attempt to do this by eliminating political corruption, increasing the efficiency of municipal workers and providing better educational opportunities, health care and public housing and transit—reforms that are in the interest of all community groups.

In running any city, the pressures to capitulate and subordinate other interests to those of the business community are great. And the temptation to settle for personal aggrandizement, of money and power, are ever-present. It is here that Washington's base in the black community operates both to give him support in living up to his best instincts and to prevent him from abandoning his principles—or to destroy him if he does. For in cities with a black minority, black mayors

In the black community, Washington's campaign became a crusade for dignity.

cy, Dellums base is a successful coalition on the left.

If Washington and other black leaders throughout the nation are correct in their belief that Chicago is pointing the way for a new black politics, then there is now also a possibility for a new left politics.

In other words, the left, including its socialist wing, can now begin to enter the mainstream of American life along with blacks. For while a fully mobilized black community can provide the solid core of victory, as it did in Chicago, in many places blacks can be successful only in coalition with Hispanics, labor and the left.

In short, in an as yet undetermined number of places, the possibility of a new kind of coalition politics has emerged—a politics based on black leadership of fully mobilized black communities.

Up from theory.

In a sense, of course, this is not a new idea. The left—especially the socialist left—has long talked about coalitions of labor, blacks, women and others. But while such coalitions have frequently been assembled on paper, and occasionally

The black community in every city is a natural left constituency. If Washington is right that Chicago points to a new black politics, it means the same for the left.

not usually vote in large numbers because they are normally presented with meaningless alternatives. On April 12, the alternatives were real and the turnout was of record proportions. It was heaviest among the blacks who understand what they have to gain, but it was also heavy among white ethnics, especially older ones, who mistakenly believed that they had a great deal to lose by the election of a black mayor. On election night Washington insisted that he would do everything within his power to assuage these fears, which were based on the false idea that Chicago's blacks want more than their fair share of services and opportunities.

We believe that these fears will diminish as people see that having a black mayor will not destroy their neighborhoods, though just how far Washington can go in neutralizing his white opposition depends on how well he can deal with the city's serious problems. It won't be easy, but Washington's strong commitment to

are attractive to the business interests with which they share power only so long as they have the trust and strong support of their electoral bases.

The black community in every city is a natural left constituency. This is true not only for municipal politics, but also nationally. It explains why the only consistently left presence in the mainstream of American political life is the Congressional Black Caucus—of which Washington has been a member. Black Caucus members like Washington, John Conyers (D-Mich.) and George Crockett (D-Mich)—all of whom have overwhelmingly black districts—can take left positions on any issue and can publicly identify with various left organizations and still count on getting upward of 90 percent of the vote every two years. Rep. Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.) is equally outspoken on the left, but because only some 35 percent of his constituents are black. That is why Dellums' district is not "safe." But, like Washington's Chicago-wide consti-

tuent around demonstrations and protests, they have rarely, if ever, been effective in electing our own people, either black or white, to office. And then, too, these past left coalitions have been based, at least in theory, on labor, with blacks and others acting as secondary allies. But the new reality is that the coalitions, if they come into being at all, will be based on mobilized black communities and, therefore, will most likely be led by blacks.

In Chicago, we have now seen that such a coalition can take office. What we don't know is how much can be accomplished in the face of the truly formidable obstacles imposed by the current recession and the Reagan administration cutbacks. Prudently, Washington is promising no miracles. But he is promising, within the limitations imposed upon him by forces over which he has no control, to provide all groups in the community their fair share of the city's resources. That promise alone, if carried out, would be a giant step forward.

LETTERS

In These Times is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

MOVIES

THOSE OF US WHO HAVE BEEN INVOLVED in the issue of nuclear disarmament owe a debt of gratitude to John Judis. In his article on the nuclear freeze movement (*ITT*, March 23) he managed to do the following: (1) convert the June 12 nuclear disarmament rally into a single-issue freeze event in spite of the fact that the rally had international participation and represented diverse political constituencies and perspectives; (2) dismiss objections to the inclusion of such war criminals as William Colby by rationalizing the freeze "appeal within the foreign policy establishment" and (3) consign those who work on this issue outside the miasma of electoral politics "simply to bearing moral witness."

Since many of us nuclear abolitionists see the movement here and throughout the world as beyond the scope of either traditional politics or religion, we have Judis to thank for reminding us that there are still those whose imaginations cannot admit anything beyond the crude pragmatism and sanctimonious platitudes of the past. Since it's not our prerogative to pray for him, let us at least try to awaken Brother John to the fact that social change, whether in the area of peace, human rights or economic justice, is more varied and dynamic than his reportorial skills and political analysis lead him to believe.

—Fran Shor
Detroit

P.S. Since some of my Detroit comrades have contributed to a special Fund for the Furtherance of Ferency Phillippics, I propose a one-time appeal for Donations for Direct Action Diatribes in order to send John Judis (and, maybe, Pat Aufderheide) to the movie *Gandhi* until he learns something new about social movements. I'm enclosing my two cents worth toward this appeal.

John Judis replies: I want to thank Shor and his "comrades" for their two cents. I have some bad news for them, however. The U.S. is not colonially ruled India, and the freeze movement is not a movement for national independence whose success depends on empowering an already united nation against the foreign oppressor. I suppose that Shor's choosing *Gandhi* rather than *The Battle of Algiers* as his model of political action shows some progress from the '60s. But I think that he and his comrades would profit from a screening of *Woody Allen's Bananas*, toward which I am returning their two cents.

PRIVATE DINING ROOM

IN THE '60S, CIVIL RIGHTS WAS THE fashionable cause for politicians representing diverse political affiliations in the U.S. As the legitimacy of the Vietnam war was increasingly questioned in the '70s, many of these same politicians became anti-war. And while many of these same "progressive forces" have recently adopted a militaristic posture (witness the AFL-CIO's endorsement of increases in the defense budget), the Jordache-look of the '80s is certainly the nuclear-freeze movement.

John Judis' piece (*ITT*, March 23) celebrates the expanding political base of the freeze movement. Former war-

mongers such as ex-CIA Director William Colby, Judis states, are now ardent supporters of a nuclear freeze. And as Judis' piece went to press, even Henry Kissinger is getting into the act by arguing for single- rather than multi-warhead missiles in *Time* magazine.

While the goals of the nuclear freeze campaign are certainly commendable, for who can endorse the wholesale destruction of the world, Judis has little concern with the strange bedfellows inhabiting this movement. Can a truly progressive political alliance be built upon the pillars of those responsible for the annihilation of the Vietnamese people? Should those responsible for such atrocities be pardoned for their role in causing death and destruction? Is Judis and *In These Times* implicitly endorsing an amnesiac approach for dealing with the Vietnam war?

Before *In These Times* escalates its support for the freeze campaign, it should first attempt to analyze who "may be coming to dinner" and scrutinize whether the freeze movement warrants the unquestionable support of an "independent socialist newspaper." For as the late Herbert Marcuse, a sponsor of *In These Times* stated, it's urgent not only to analyze what is but to ask what ought to be.

—David L. Levinson
Brighton, Mass.

John B. Judis replies: I've now received two complaints for defending the freeze leaders' decision to include former CIA director William Colby in their ranks. That noted jurist Fran Shor labels Colby a "war criminal," while Levinson settles for the vaguer term "warmonger" in referring to Colby's role during the Vietnam war. Colby certainly played an invidious role during the Vietnam war: he was, after all, CIA chief in Saigon from 1959 to 1962 and head of the Phoenix program. But I don't draw from this the conclusion that he and others like him are "war criminals" in the manner of Martin Borman or Rudolf Hess and that they should therefore be ostracized from movements like the freeze.

Several points of differing weight have to be made on this question:

(1) If one labels Colby a war criminal because he served as an official during the war, then one would also have to label Paul Warnke (a Defense Department official from 1967 to 1969), most of the pro-freeze retired admirals and generals associated with such groups as the Center for Defense Information, and perhaps even important early supporters of the war like Sen. Edward Kennedy as "war criminals" and exclude them from the freeze.

The Nuremberg definition of war criminal was fairly broad, but the overriding crime of the Nazis was its genocidal policy in nations that it occupied. There was random slaughter of Vietnamese during the Vietnam war, but the war was not conducted on this basis. U.S. officials like Colby saw themselves intervening on behalf of a beleaguered government opposed by a Communist insurgency.

(2) There is a more general point here. Colby, Warnke and Kennedy and others were early supporters of the war on similar grounds to those on which many critics opposed the war: they both believed that America's goal within the world was to maximize freedom. Sup-

porters of the war believed they were doing so in Vietnam by preventing a Communist takeover. Critics of the war charged that the corrupt dictatorship that the U.S. was backing was no better—and some said considerably worse—than the alternative proffered by the NLF.

Colby and others idealized the Diem government and demonized the Communist opposition. Many critics of the war made the opposite mistake. Reality was more complicated.

Left, center and right are still caught within the assumptions about Communism and American foreign policy that triggered the war and its opposition. The way to resolve this dilemma is not to bandy about terms like "war criminal" every time a former proponent of the Vietnam war does something commendable.

(3) I suspect that Shor and Levinson don't know much about Colby or the CIA. The CIA was the bastion of Cold War liberalism after World War II. It opposed an aggressive "rollback" strategy against the Soviet Union; it sought to encourage "third force" proponents in Third World countries against the Communists on the left and the oligarchs on the right. It was peopled by idealistic Ivy League graduates like former antiwar leader Rev. William Sloane Coffin.

Colby was easily on the left of the CIA. He argued for encouraging the Italian Christian Democrats to ally themselves with the Italian Socialists during the '50s—a position that did not find favor in the Eisenhower administration. In the '70s, he led the attack against James Angelton's domestic counterinsurgency operation and blew the whistle on the CIA's involvement in Chile. For this, rightwingers rumored that he was a Soviet mole. Now retired, he is not only a proponent of the freeze, but also an opponent of U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

(4) There is finally a political axiom at stake. In a democracy, one tries to build majority support for an issue or a candidate, and this includes everyone except felons, infants and lunatics. It is a further axiom of politics in our capitalist, highly stratified democracy that the more support one can gather from the ruling elite, the easier it will be to attract favorable attention in the major media, which are controlled by the same elite, and among the public at large, who invest a movement with a greater credibility to the extent they see bigwigs strutting about.

DOMESTIC FOREIGN POWERS

I WAS LEVELED BY YOUR EDITORIAL (*ITT*, Jan. 26) "Simple denial is not enough." While I agree that socialism in the U.S. would be profoundly different than anywhere else, the belief that "a socialist government in the U.S. would not have to fear foreign intervention" is a denial that is indeed simple. You correctly noted that despite Chile's democratic traditions, their electoral/constitutional road to socialism was bombed into dust. But then you conclude that since the defeat of the Allende government resulted from foreign (U.S.) intervention, the U.S. is safe from such "foreign" meddling.

Does *ITT* really believe that transnational powers pledge allegiance to America? What about those foreign intervenors in Chile—namely that other *ITT*, Anaconda, Kennecott, as well as their subsidiaries in the existing U.S. government? Do you think they and other citadels of capitalism will obediently observe democratic traditions if the U.S. moves toward socialism? Ask members of the Communist Party who appeared before Committees on Un-American Activities about the wonders of political pluralism in the U.S. As a Cherokee I don't have to look far to see how well U.S. democracy has preserved its "constitutional treaties" for Native Americans.

It is precisely when our democratic traditions actually threaten business as usual that traditions become overthrown by corporate power. The reality is that our political system is controlled by money, the slick marketing of personalities and internalized oppression of voters. If indeed it were possible, solely through electoral means, to create a socialist government, I find it incredulous that *ITT* sees the major risk as one "of being voted out of office."

When socialism actually contests for state power throughout the U.S., today's friendly forms of coercion will be replaced by new (old) methods of control. To imply that U.S. democratic traditions make it immune to police/military terror denies our violent history. A cogent strategy must realize the current police/military hegemony and the likely battle against direct fascist campaigns as we try to create socialism. By all means, let's keep the theoretical democratic traditions. But to advance them, we must throw out the reality of "friendly fascism" and the Great American illusion of fair play among class antagonists.

—Meadow Whitson
Common Cents Collective
San Francisco

A PART OF REALITY

I AM BUGGED ABOUT SOME COMMENTS in David Moberg's story on Bernard Sanders (*ITT*, March 23). In discussing Sanders' decision to leave the Liberty Union party, Moberg implies that the primary reason was the "fringe wacko" element of the party. Here again we have the cavalier elitism of liberals mimicking the macho of ignorant conservatives. The existence of Maoists in the party is stated as if their presence alone were enough to render the party silly. This is the same as businessmen branding people "hippies," "peaceniks," "Commies" and so on, then waiting for the laughter, knowing further discussion is unnecessary. To dismiss Maoism from discussion is to dismiss a part of reality whose legacy dominates the lives of a billion people.

Likewise, separatist feminists, whenever I have actually read their theories, present a convincing case. Wouldn't a man prove many of their points by tossing them from the political clubhouse—especially a socialist who no doubt calls himself a feminist?

Further, the leader who wanted a sex change operation to become a lesbian might have been making a decision of rare courage, anticipating the chortling of "gay rights advocates" like Moberg. Then there was the put-down of "organic carrot devotees," as if socialists "who take winning seriously" eat McDonald hamburgers (thus contributing to youth and minority exploitation as well as to the cheapening of our culture and to the ruin of their bodies). It's an old argument: grow up, get serious, join the club. Someone who so uncritically accepts this society might be doubted for his conviction to change it.

Compare Moberg's attitude to Diana Johnstone's approach to the German Greens. Her reports are charged with the vitality of the '60s, whose children Moberg has so casually dismissed.

—Glen Clark
Davis, Calif.

David Moberg replies: There's a difference between the vitality of the '60s and the silliness of the '60s. Both were equally real. Some people see only one or the other, embracing or rejecting the heritage wholesale without trying to figure out what was worthwhile. But growing up and getting serious is not terrible.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type a double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.



Photographer unknown

IN DEPTH

Market keeps Hungary going

By Mark H. Lazerson

HUNGARIANS REMAIN the envy of their East European neighbors. Their stores are filled with consumer goods and their markets are brimming with fresh produce. East Germans and Czechs, once richer neighbors, return from shopping expeditions in Hungary overloaded with products no longer attainable at home.

But Hungarians, who have made consumerism an important part of their national identity to help erase the memory of the failed 1956 uprising, are now seriously worried about the future as the storm clouds of the world economic crisis roll over their country's flat plains. Last August the government announced

The "unofficial" economy makes survival possible.

sharp price increases—sometimes of 100 percent or more—in foodstuffs, rents and public transportation, and promised that there would be more ahead. Unlike in Poland, for which many Hungarians feel a close affinity, the only public response has been a mass rush to the supermarkets to stock up before the old price labels are changed. Grumbling is heard everywhere, but rarely in public forums, except at odd moments—as when a man in a crowded and stalled street car on which I had been riding shouted to silent assent that "Only if we tear this tram apart will anyone do anything."

Mostly, people have chosen individual stop-gap solutions, such as anticipating future price increases. This past November the mere announcement of a Central Committee meeting produced long lines in front of service stations by drivers fearing expected increases in gasoline

prices. Of course, for the average Hungarian who does not own a car the price of gasoline is irrelevant: their worry is simply bread and butter. As once-generous subsidies disappear to help Hungary repay an \$8 billion debt to the West and higher energy bills to the Soviet Union, the average worker's salary of 4,000 forints a month (equivalent to \$105 but worth several times more in purchasing power) no longer can satisfy the basic needs of a family. The government officially reports that in 1983 real wages will decline by an average of 3 percent. The growth estimate for the GNP has also been revised downward from 2 percent to a stagnant .5 percent.

For pensioners who receive only 1,000 to 2,000 forints a month (\$30-60), the future is truly grim. According to one sociologist, "They will grow cold and hungry for lack of food and fuel this winter," unless aided by relatives. Other Hungarians would also confront similar belt-tightening were it not for the widespread second economy that helps them supplement their incomes through second jobs.

The unofficial economy.

When I asked Hungarians how they managed to live on their salaries they would uniformly answer, "We don't." Most of them participated in the unofficial economy, which in contrast to the centrally planned and state-owned economy is individually organized and responds to market forces. English teachers tutoring private students, construction workers building homes on weekends and evenings and sociologists doing market research for cooperatives all compose part of this second economy.

More important, aspects of the economy have also been affected by this activity. Workers in some state enterprises rent machines from their employers to produce goods after working hours, which they then sell back to the firm or to other customers. Textile employees are encouraged to take work home, for which they will be remunerated on a contract basis. Numerous state shops in the

distribution area are being leased to the highest bidder for a period of five years, after which new bids may be proffered. Private employers may now hire up to 10 employees.

The precise extent of the secondary economy remains murky but it is large and growing. It is estimated that one-third of all fresh vegetables sold in Hungary are cultivated by factory workers who farm small garden plots. Perhaps 25 percent or more of Hungary's hard currency is earned by second economy production. Upwards of 70 percent of the workforce is believed to moonlight.

A sizeable underground economy has

always existed in Hungary, but in the past it has only been tolerated. Today it has been given legal status and is actively encouraged. The sharp price increases, without commensurate salary raises, are also intended to induce more Hungarians to enter the second economy where labor productivity is far higher than in the cumbersome and inefficient state economy.

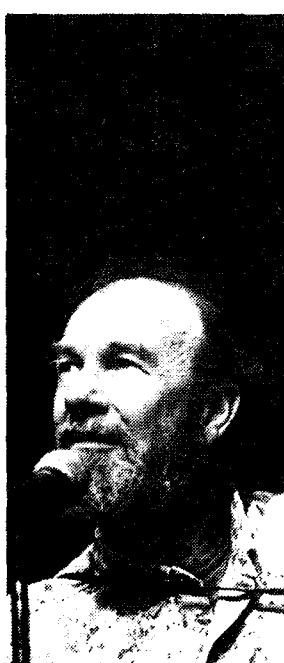
The principal architect of many of these new economic mechanisms is Tibor Liska, a once obscure professor of economics at Karl Marx University, who until recently was restricted to a large audience of devoted young disciples who often sound like a cross between Adam Smith and Ayn Rand. Professor Liska, now with important friends at the levers of state power, insists that his policy of leasing state enterprises to private individuals and groups will guarantee the free circulation of capital to the most efficient areas of the economy. According to him, each Hungarian should be issued shares based on the country's productive wealth and then be permitted to invest them in leases as he or she sees fit.

Continued on the following page

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Hungary

Continued from previous page

Unlike in the state sector where incentives are few and workers have no fear of lay-offs or loss of pay for absenteeism, the private economy represents unrestrained free enterprise. Job security does not exist and rewards directly reflect one's work efforts and entrepreneurial ingenuity. Wages are often five times higher and so is productivity. In one Budapest lathe factory workers produced the same number of widgets in two hours of moonlighting as they normally do in eight hours of regular work. Private shoemakers repair shoes in a day or two, while state shops may take a month or longer. Indeed, some of the results of the new market mechanism are truly refreshing. Overnight one stinking subway restroom at Batthyani Ter, located across from the Parliament on the Danube, was transformed by private managers into a "toilet salon" filled with shiny mirrors, potted plants and the scent of cheap perfume, all for the entrance price of six cents. The boom in private shops and small factories has improved the quality of consumer goods and services in general.

Housing policy has also undergone a major reform that has spurred the private building trade. This year the state will devote 90 percent of building sub-

sidies for private homes and cooperatives, and only 10 percent for state-owned apartments, a complete reversal of the usual formula. In part, the policy has changed for egalitarian reasons: studies revealed that the most affluent elements of Hungarian society were receiving cheap, heavily subsidized state housing while the truly needy had to resort to the costly private sector, which was unsubsidized. Ironically, Ivan Szelenyi—presently professor of sociology at the University of Madison—who had argued without success for such a change in housing policy in the early '70s, now worries that excessive reliance upon the private market may further intensify inequality in Hungary.

There are other concerns with the second economy in Hungary. It has probably further reduced productivity in the state economy, since many workers now see their first job as a sinecure that permits them a comfortable rest until they go off to moonlight where they really must exert themselves. There is also a growing tendency to divert skilled labor and the best material for the private sector, often by fraud and theft. Free market mechanisms are also not easily inserted into a system not oriented toward private profit. Hungarian income taxes are so highly confiscatory that they encourage shop keepers whose annual earnings may reach one million forints—25 times the salary of an average wage-earner—to cheat.

One sociologist discovered that many private employers hesitate to hire non-

family help because of fear they will become targets of embezzlement or blackmail schemes; and lacking clean hands themselves they cannot call the police. Furthermore, not all private merchants are happy about the development of a free market. Restaurant owners who once could purchase their supplies from a wholesale agency at a fixed price must now buy from private sources where prices are subject to wide fluctuations.

It also remains unclear whether members of the new strata, which is amassing a fortune by Hungarian standards, will be permitted to invest their wealth in anything besides the latest model luxury Western automobiles. Large investments in plant and equipment for leased shops is not a wise idea. Hungarian law also restricts property ownership to two homes per family—one in the city and one in the countryside. Children under 21 are not permitted to own property. One important loophole is investments in agricultural cooperatives, many of which have no residency or work requirements, thus allowing outsiders to purchase shares. How the government responds to this issue will provide a good indication of the future of private markets in Hungary.

The unofficial economy may also radically change the social fabric of Hungarian society. Already there are fears that a more efficient but more costly private economy may exclude the poorer elements of the population from basic goods and services like housing, education and medicine. Despite decades of free health care, Hungarians customarily pay doc-

tors under-the-table fees because they believe it is a requirement to receive good treatment. Even in public hospitals, patients pay doctors a month's salary for a simple child delivery.

Increasing inequality.

There are also numerous proposals to change the already inequalitarian wage scale in industry—there is a difference of one-to-three between the highest and lowest average factory wage, but in some places the difference may equal one to eight—to make it reflect the incentives available in the informal economy. Professor Zsuzsa Ferge, an influential sociologist at the prestigious Institute of Sociology, worries that those who want to increase wage inequalities have a hidden ideological agenda to roll back important gains won by the working classes. There is also some discussion of allowing management freely to dismiss workers and permitting some unemployment in Hungary for the first time since the establishment of the present regime in 1947.

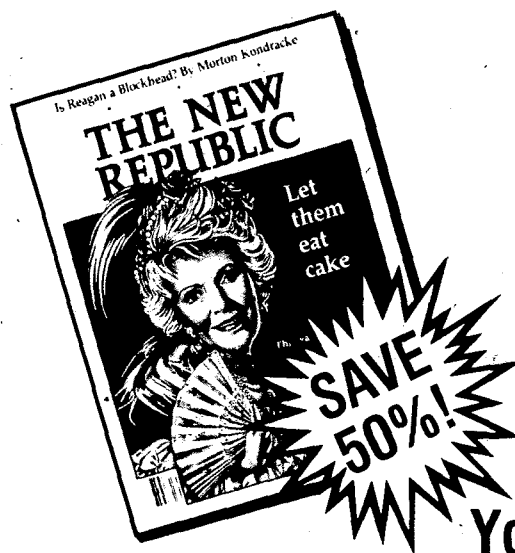
These developments are having a particularly harmful effect on the old, the poor and the unskilled, all having little to offer in the unofficial economy. Professor Elemer Hankiss, also a sociologist at the Institute of Sociology, recently wrote a long article in the respected economic weekly *Heti Világgazdaság* that the shift to a market-oriented economy should be counterbalanced by the creation of a Western European social security network of unemployment compensation and food and energy stamps to aid the poor, jobless and disabled. However, Szelenyi remains skeptical of such alternatives: "If you begin to establish unemployment programs then you will legitimize the existence of unemployment," something that still remains politically unacceptable in Hungary today.

But the future success of the new market mechanisms is not so much undermined by its attack on social equality as by the centrifugal forces it is creating within Hungary that threaten many well-entrenched groups. The large factories that continue to dominate Hungary's centralized economy lack the flexibility of the smaller units and managers are unable to offer competitive salaries to retain their most skilled workers. Now that Hungarian workers enjoy a free labor market they can leave their old jobs with impunity in search of more lucrative ones. Fears that this phenomenon will undermine the viability of some enterprises are abetted by Communist Party conservatives who worry that economic decentralization will lead to political decentralization and eventually erode their power. A combination of these elements ignited a major party shakeup in the Central Committee in 1972, when the advocates of economic reform suffered a serious setback at the hands of party conservatives, forcing the postponement of critical structural changes.

Now the economic technocrats are back at the controls, and some Hungarians insist that the ascendancy of Soviet Prime Minister Yuri Andropov with his close relationship to the Hungarian Party Secretary Janos Kadar will give the country more space in which to experiment economically. In fact, Andropov's first major speech singled out Hungary as one possible alternative approach to economic development. Nevertheless, the party conservatives are waiting in the wings, ready to return if those in power cannot extricate the economy from its deepening crisis.

Indeed, the very legitimacy of the present government rests upon providing improved material comforts in return for passive popular acquiescence to a distasteful political system. So far most Hungarians do not believe that their future is to be found in Poland, and the few political critics of the regime have been largely ignored. But if the economy continues to deteriorate the old agreement between government and governed may soon have to be renegotiated. ■

Mark H. Lazerson is a legal sociologist writing a dissertation on Italian labor relations at the University of Wisconsin, Madison.



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HARD TIMES FOR THE HARD RIGHT. They took it on the chin last November, and they're down. But by no means out. What's on their agenda now? For starters, they want you to hate Japanese, Mexican immigrants, "elitists," "welfare cheats," and people who drive foreign cars.

FRANCE'S ATARI SOCIALISM. So far, François Mitterrand has failed to achieve his most grandiose objectives of Liberty, Equality, Technology. But his experiment in socialism with a human face has backed his country into some admirable innovations.

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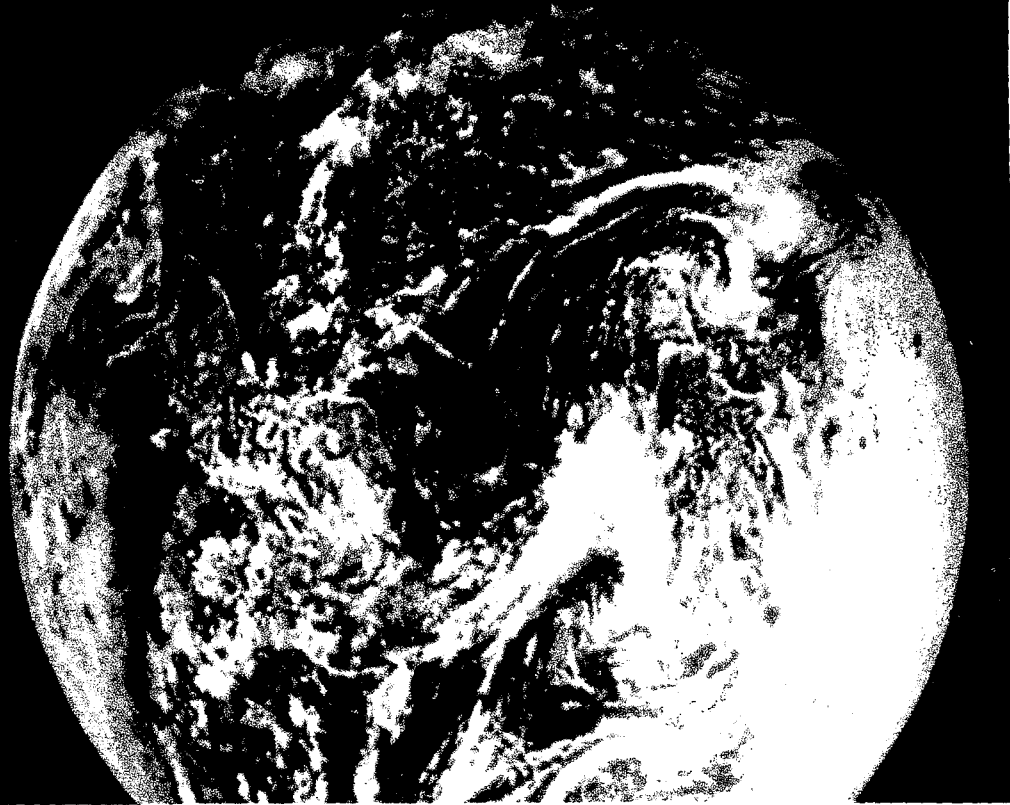
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IN THESE TIMES APRIL 20-26, 1983 15 where the poor countries' debt is seen in a context of a decade's worth of First World nations fooling around with international exchange. You can sneak up on it instead by reading a 500-word review of the IMF's internal debates (can the Fund afford to expand loans to poor countries? Can it afford not to?); and another quickie on the World Bank, summarizing tensions between hardliner and humanist moneymen (two versions of the same opinion, in the author's view). Then you're probably ready to get beyond money questions and into economic issues, with something like Alexandre Faure's "Ten Years of Crisis for the Advanced Capitalist Economies." Still hungry for more? Check out the bibliography. Need a quick dramatic fact to make your point? Look up the "100 Largest Banks" table. Or the "Third World Debt" table, that registers an astonishing growth in the service on Third World debt to the First World of 10 times in 10 years.

Body politic and bodies.

But let's face it. While writers as knowledgeable as these can make international monetary crisis clear, they can't make it fun. So it's no shame, I figure, to find yourself taking a breather with a quick browse through "The New Health Consciousness in the U.S."

No wonder the American middle class is going health-nuts, says Rob Crawford. We're signaling our loss of control over the social organism. "The physical body stands against the social body is a last line of defense," he writes. And not just that: stern times demand stern bodies. The new improved body is a metaphor for "the new social order, one requiring fortitude, sacrifice and endurance."

World View is also filled with bite-sized bits of information like why it's OK to say "Cambodia" instead of "Kampuchea." And did you know that English is the official language of Sierra Leone and Lesotho, and that the tenth most spoken language in the world is Korean?

World View 1983 ought to fill in the gaps the daily papers leave. Go ahead, ask me anything. Or you could look it up. ■

A version of this review first appeared in the *Village Voice Literary Supplement*.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

The world view from the left

World View 1983: What the Press and Television Have Not Told You About the Year's Mega-Issues

Editors Francois Geze, Yves Lacoste and Alfredo Valladao
English-language adaptation edited by Pete Ayrton
Pantheon, 500 pp., \$9.95 paper

By Pat Aufderheide

Reference books tend to end up where they're used. I notice that my *Dictionary of Classical Antiquities*, for instance, is nestled comfortably in the upper reaches of a hall bookcase. *The State of the World Atlas*, on the other hand, can't seem to get up off the living room floor, where

it is often surrounded by opinionated people poring over its maps showing worldwide distribution of such items as nuclear power plants, pollution and political prisoners. I think *World View 1983* may end up on top of the TV, or maybe on the breakfast table, where we decipher the morning paper. Because I can tell I'm going to turn to it often for the news behind the news.

World View 1983 is an impressive current affairs encyclopedia. Not just for its information, which is comprehensive, well-displayed and supplemented with reading hints, but also for its organization: the editors recognize that country-by-country thumbnail sketches can't address many

of the issues in the world news. So along with the sketches—efficiently compact, stressing political affairs with supplementary maps and tables—they give us essays. Some are on issues (Michele Mattelart discusses the relationship between media and terrorism, calling the Reagan assassination attempt a "bad serial" and commenting that "the old film trouser deserved a better script"); some are on overarching policy questions (North-South relations; pacifism and nationalism in Europe); on trends and patterns (robotics, agriculture and climate); on hot spots like El Salvador, the Falklands, the Western Sahara. There is even an idiosyncratic portrait gallery that includes Bobby Sands, Mitterrand and Princess Diana (described by Diana Simmonds as "our very own National Dish").

European left view.

The book provides a European left perspective, not surprising since it started out in France at Maspero Press and England with

Pluto Press (both publishers of left material). Be warned—some of the writing has a dry, coldly abstract style and most of the intensely synoptic articles assume readers are used to *Le Monde*-level international reporting. *World View* also explains the U.S. to others, though—Alan Wolfe's Reagan profile does an excellent job of telling Europeans what Reagan-the-candidate symbolized for American voters.

The articles take so many different approaches to world news that you can shop around on a subject, putting together your own big picture. And the variety also lets you delve into a problem.

Say you've just finished one of those *New York Times* financial page overviews on international banking—trendiest crisis of the year—and it left you with that something-lacking feeling. If you're like me you'll put off until last turning to the most obvious place for a briefing—Gerard Gaveau's "Turmoil in the International Monetary System,"

tory of coal, oil, nuclear power and synthetics as well as alternative sources gives a solid time-line for events that have shaped the world.

The book is particularly startling in showing the impact that energy choices have on people and the environment. When coal became the fuel driving 19th-century England's industrial machinery, women and children were sent into the mines to work long hours under terrible conditions.

In terms of human suffering, it is only a short jump to 20th-century West Virginia and *Powering Civilization*'s story of a miner with black lung. He is unable to walk, let alone work, and unable to get compensation for his occupational disease.

Other parallels abound in the history of energy. The decision by Winston Churchill in 1911 to fuel the British navy with oil rather than coal led to the development of an oil industry in Persia (Iran) and later in Mesopotamia (Iraq).

Several decades later, the pot-

Continued on page 19

ENERGY

Power politics history

Powering Civilization: The Complete Energy Reader

By James Ridgeway
Pantheon, 366 pp., \$12.95 paper

By Paul Choitz

In 1866, just seven years after a Pennsylvania oil discovery marked the birth of the modern petroleum industry, government officials were already saying that synthetic oil, produced from coal, could meet American energy needs when the oil crunch came along. A couple of decades later, oil was the nation's fourth largest export, and Standard Oil controlled 85 percent of all oil refined in the U.S.

If this all sounds very familiar, so do many things in *Powering Civilization*. James Ridgeway, a

long-time energy writer and columnist for the *Village Voice*, has put together a fine introduction to the enormous topic of energy's role in history written by such strange bedfellows as Friedrich Engels, Winston Churchill and Amory Lovins. Taken together, these articles show that over and over through history, it is overabundance—not scarcity—that has shaped energy policy. The fear of scarcity has often been just a figleaf hiding overabundance, used to distract public attention from corporate concentration and monopoly.

"Putting energy back into history," Ridgeway writes, "gives us a perspective from which to judge, question and grasp the confusing energy events of the present moment which are pre-

sented to us in fragments on television or in the press and always in a mood of a historical crisis."

Energy is, after all, the foundation of our modern industrial world, and must be viewed as an integral part of history. This his-

The coming oil crunch could be eased by synthetic fuels, people were told in 1866.

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After Long Silence

By Michael Straight

W.W. Norton and Company
351 pp., \$17.50

By David Corn

Toward the end of Great Britain's devil's decade—the 1930s—novelist E.M. Forster devised a formula of principle for the disillusioned, between-the-wars generation: "If I had to choose between betraying my country and betraying my friend, I hope I should have the guts to betray my country." If judged on this scale, Michael Straight would fall short. He didn't have the guts to do either.

Coming from a background of American wealth and privilege, Straight entered Trinity College at Cambridge, England, in 1934, where he first encountered Communism. By the time he departed Cambridge three years later, he had developed ties to the Cambridge spy network of Anthony Blunt and Guy Burgess. (Blunt and Burgess, in turn, were in league with fellow Soviet agents Kim Philby and Donald Maclean.)

After leaving college—not quite in the spy ring and not quite out—Straight returned to the U.S. and a career as a young New Dealer in the Roosevelt administration. From there he went to the *New Republic* (which had been founded by his parents), serving as editor during the McCarthy years.

All this time he kept his college Communist ties secret. He remained silent until 1963 when he was offered the chair of President Kennedy's Advisory Council on the Arts. He then spilled his story to the FBI, revealing to British and American intelligence that Anthony Blunt was a Soviet agent. (By that time Burgess, Maclean and Philby had escaped to the USSR.) But Straight's role in unmasking Blunt—who had become the knighted curator of Queen Elizabeth's art collection—was kept from public knowledge until an article in the *London Daily Mail* on March 24, 1981, pointed the finger at Straight. He was not named but described as a "middle-aged American belonging to a rich and famous family" who "had been a Communist while in England at Cambridge University, had been recruited to Soviet intelligence and had served the Russian interests for several years."

Admission of guilt.

Straight did not enjoy this description. *After Long Silence* is his attempt to set the record straight.

Contemplative and sentimental, this "political memoir," as Straight terms it, does not claim he did no wrong. Straight admits to the big wrong—that he waited too long before informing on the Soviet agents with whom he had consorted. Though he did not spy for them, he had passed unclassified reports and memos written while he worked at the State Department office to a Soviet contact.

In March 1951, Straight ran into Burgess at the British embassy in Washington, D.C., where Burgess was working on Far East affairs. This chance meeting occurred only several months after American and South Korean troops had been routed at the Yalu River, and during this meeting Straight learned that Burgess knew of U.S. plans for the attack. "Guy

Soviet spy Anthony Blunt was part of the Cambridge spy ring.

MEMOIRS

The spy who came in from the Cold War

could have caused the deaths of so many American soldiers," Straight observes. So what action did Straight take? He gave Burgess a warning: he had one month to resign his post or Straight would turn him in. But Straight didn't live up to his threat.

Three months later, Burgess disappeared along with Maclean, but not because of Straight. Maclean had fallen under suspicion, and Burgess was forced to escort his fellow spy to the Soviet Union.

Straight had previously extracted similar promises from Burgess to leave government service. Two years earlier Straight learned that Blunt had been involved in British intelligence during the war. At that time, Burgess and Blunt asked Straight if he was still with them. "You know I'm not," he replied. "You're not totally unfriendly?" asked Burgess. "If I were would I be here?" answered Straight. That was all the spies needed. Straight would not help them in

their espionage, but neither would he betray his college pals. He found himself immersed in a hellish ambivalence.

Ambivalent legacy.

Much of *After Long Silence* is dedicated to examining this ambivalence. To do so Straight traces his life's history. He was born into the American elite—his father was the son of a diplomat and his mother was the daughter of William C. Whitney, Grover Cleveland's secretary of the Navy. His brother and sister were WASPishly named Whitney and Biddy. His family was served by Grove, the butler, and driven by Hutchinson, the chauffeur. Family friends included Theodore Roosevelt, Walter Lippmann, Joseph Conrad, Emma Goldman, Felix Frankfurter and others too numerous to mention.

Straight never left the elite. When his family moved to England he joined the British branch. He rented a house from P.G. Wodehouse. His family's friendship with Harold Laski gained

him entrance into the London School of Economics. At Cambridge he was befriended by John Maynard Keynes. When he needed a job after college he went to see F.D.R. at the White House.

Straight turns to his life of privilege for a defense of his actions—a defense that is only partly convincing. It was the classical case of guilt over inherited wealth, he claims, that helped push him toward his school-boy radicalism. But what was it that allowed Straight to languish in his ambivalence? He offers a simple answer. He lacked a "sense of self." He adds, "If I had been English by birth or American by upbringing, I would have been held in place by the traditional loyalties."

As Straight puts it, he "was caught up in the current of history and carried out of his depth." He could not resist the

Straight shifted from a socialist to a New Deal Democrat to an anti-Communist liberal.

tide. His attraction to the Cambridge brand of Communism was not out of commitment to an ideal, but due to the sway of several friends. His upbringing had

not provided Straight with a backbone.

Political odyssey.

But Straight's account is more than a spy story or a tale of betrayal delayed. *After Long Silence* details a political odyssey. From a Cambridge socialist, Straight turned into a New Deal Democrat and, subsequently, into an anti-Communist liberal. During his political travels, Straight again was unable to swim against the currents that ran through the U.S. left.

In the late '40s and '50s, straight was involved in many of the big battles in liberal circles. After Henry Wallace left Truman's cabinet in 1946, Straight brought him to the *New Republic* as editor. But soon Straight found himself begging Wallace not to run as a third-party candidate in 1948 because to do so would only play into the hands of the unseen Communists. While at the *New Republic*, Straight railed against McCarthyism, yet when the American liberal community divided into the anti-Communist Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) and the anti-Cold War Progressive Citizens of America. Straight chose the ADA. Though he castigated Hubert Humphrey, a leading ADA liberal, for introducing a bill in the Senate that made it a crime to join the Communist Party, Straight nevertheless supported the expulsion of Communists from the American Veterans Committee. Ironies abounded. Appearing before a Senate committee investigating his family's fund in 1952, Straight testified that the Communist Party is a clear and present danger and "a source of espionage and subversion."

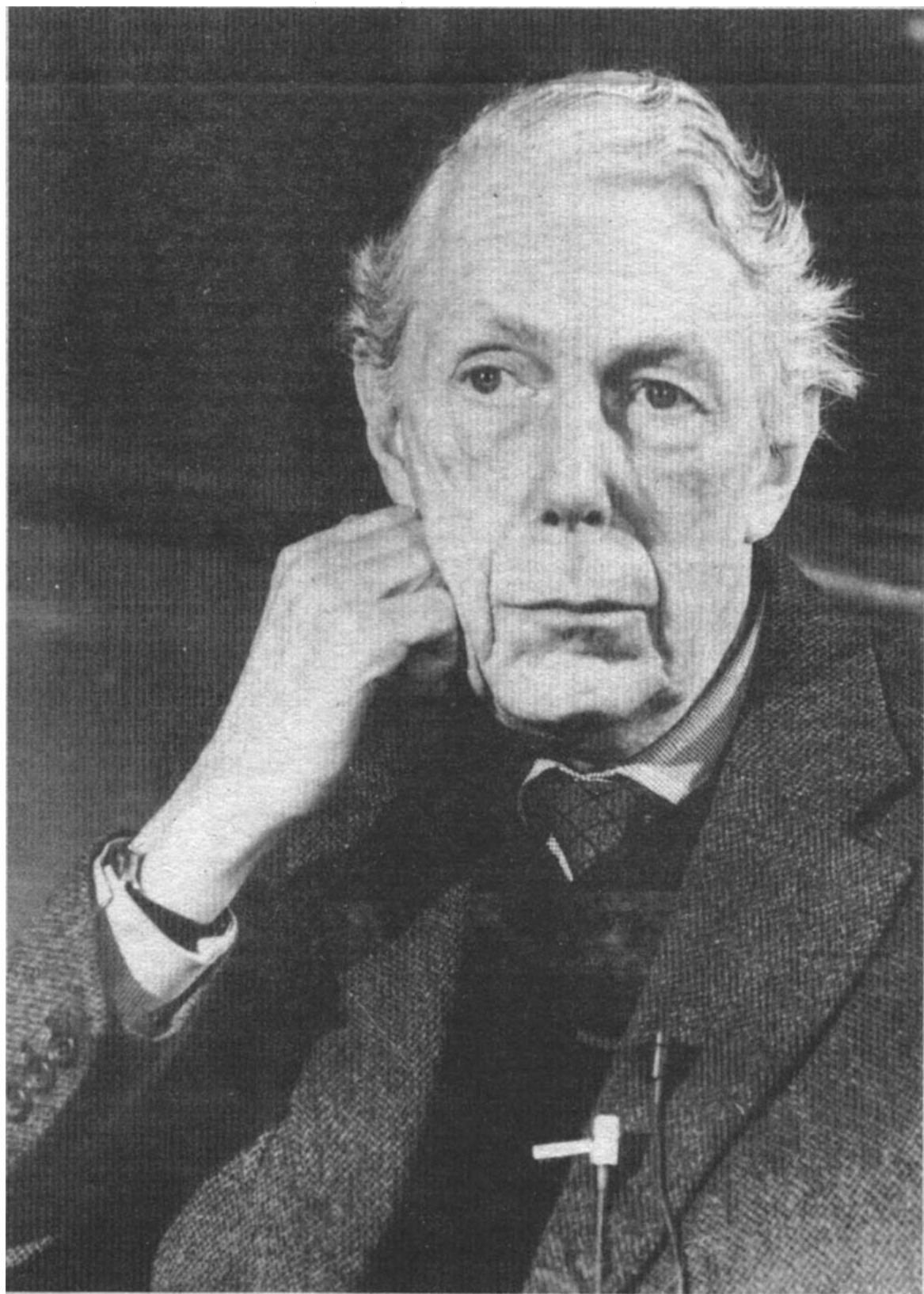
Straight's account—written in a genteel style but full of narrative jumps—is rich with nuts-and-bolts tales of McCarthyism. But the book's detached tone is curious. Perhaps Straight believes he must forfeit any sense of outrage because of his own dishonor. If so, he makes the trade too easily. His sister was blacklisted; his brother-in-law was smeared. He was surrounded by congressional investigations, as well as privy to the political infighting that split American liberals.

But in his 1954 farewell essay in the *New Republic*, Straight, prematurely if not naively, maintained that liberalism was on the mend and that the wound inflicted by McCarthyism had already healed. "I feel no scar," wrote a man who had hounded Communists, offered justification for making Party membership a crime and witnessed the origins of a rift that still plagues the left community today.

One imagines that *After Long Silence* was not an easy book to write. For all his explanations and defensive maneuvers, the older Straight is not able to present a flattering portrait of the younger Straight. While he freely confesses to the big crime, he cannot cover up the trail of little crimes. (Straight, to be fair, admirably displayed early interest in arms control and support for civil rights.)

"It is hard for a man, said Cato, to live in one age and to be judged by another," writes Straight. Whether or not one accepts Straight's explanation of his actions, *After Long Silence* remains an instructive memoir, showing that those times demanded individuals made of sterner stuff.

David Corn is associate editor of *Nuclear Times*.



FILM



Peasants capture the fleeing French king in Ettore Scola's film *LA NUIT DE VARENNES*.

A night that makes history

By Pat Aufderheide

It was one of those moments in history when it all comes together—a day and a night that clarified and tested what was at stake in the French revolution.

It was 1791. The king, who had been under house arrest for two years, escaped and bolted for the border to join up with monarchial allies. Factions in the Assembly—those favoring a bourgeois-aristocrat alliance and those favoring bourgeois-only rule—were divided in response.

While those on top argued, those on the bottom—the peasants—were put on the spot to show just how much the revolution meant to them. Would they stop the king before he got to the border? When, finally, a small group of villagers halted the king's coach at Varennes, a new phase of the French revolution began.

La Nuit de Varennes.

It was "that night in Varennes." And that is the story that *La Nuit de Varennes*, a magnificent film by Ettore Scola, tells. But Scola doesn't tell it in a classic history-book way. Instead, the great social drama of that day and night unfolds inside a public carriage—an 18th-century version of Greyhound—racketing across France.

It's who is in the carriage that makes the trip worthwhile. There's Casanova (Marcello Mastroianni), fleeing confinement as an aristocrat's librarian to have a last fling; Tom Paine (Harvey Keitel), in France on an author tour for *The Declaration of the Rights of Man*; his publisher, the journalist and pornographer Restif de la Bretonne (Jean-Louis Berrault); a lady-in-waiting to the Queen, Countess Sophie (Hanna Schygulla); and

an assortment of fellow travelers. (This combination, by the way, was historically possible, if unlikely.) Their chit-chat and the conditions of their journey tell you more about France then—and about political crisis as it is lived—than a couple of college classes.

Scola has joined, in a way that should make Warren Beatty (*Reds*) weep, the two great subjects of sex and revolution. The moment of Varennes is a moment of great fear and hope, one that releases passion on both a social and personal level. The characters' social stations and stakes in this political crisis are revealed as much by their physical appetites—for sex, for food, for comfort—as by their furious and pointed conversations.

Casanova indulges in seductive banter, arcane social rituals, gluttony and shameless vanity. His end-of-the-Old-Regime romancing contrasts with the torrid pawing going on above him on the carriage roof between a randy leftist student and a black servant to Countess Sophie. The Countess' repressed and dependent political self matches her corseted and mannered personal style—she's an essay in wistful provocation. Restif brings it all together, with a free man's appetite for life and with boundless curiosity.

Tom Paine is the exception to this burgeoning sensuality. The outsider and the purist, he is someone for whom all personal passion is engulfed by political idealism. He talks lucidly and ruthlessly about the meaning of democracy, the public interest and free speech.

At one point, in fact, he drives Countess Sophie into hysterics by coldly denying the aristocracy's divine right to rule. Later she

Tom Paine, Casanova and other notables meet on a carriage ride.

apologizes for her outburst, saying she had been driven by her fear of losing everything. "And do you think it will be better tomorrow?" he asks, with the electrified self-possession that Keitel brings to a character. "We are all afraid. Ideals must sustain us in times of great change, and when ideals fail we must find others that suit us." This precise reply only makes the Countess and the king's hairdresser (Jean-Claude Brialy) fall cowering into each other's arms, clutching the last remnant of security. (Scola wrote the dialog with Sergei Amidei, screenwriter of *Open City* and *Bicycle Thief*.)

Sensuality on several levels.

The look of the movie is as sensual as any of its characters. There is the openly sexy sensuality, but it's also there in images and moments like the billowing black capes of conspirators at dawn, in the raucous crowd of peasants carrying torches in a night procession, in the stately process of courtiers displaying the finery of the king's robes on a dressmaker's dummy, then bowing down to worship it.

The graceful fluid pacing of Armando Nanuzzi's cinematography (he too is one of Italian

Scola joins the subjects of sex and revolution



cinema's grand old men), matches his expert use of light to set moods.

This is more than a visual feast—it's an invitation to join the journey—no armchair voyage *a la* Masterpiece Theater, but a kind of time-travel. Scola has paid minute attention to historical detail, and uses casual gestures and equipment to capture the look and feel of the time as effectively as, say, Robert Benton epitomized Upper East Side lifestyles with quick glimpses of kitchen utensils and shopping habits in *Kramer vs. Kramer*. In *La Nuit de Varennes* there is a wealth of sideline information—where the 18th-century version of the laundromat was, what an aristocrat used for a credit card.

But attention to historical detail is not antiquarian here—it all goes into the service of recreating the temperament of the time. Scola knows that historical memory is part of the present. He plays, in fact, with the many uses of history at both the beginning and the end of the movie. *La Nuit* begins with a Paris street scene where crowds gather around a puppet theater. The show presents scenes from recent history—for instance, the storming of the Bastille—and then, with typical Scola insouciance, from the near future: the guillotining of a king. The puppet show has already transformed the history of the revolution into legend.

The ending makes a different and more somber comment about the uses and lessons of history. Restif, once again passing the puppet theater, talks directly with the camera. Walking along the banks of the Seine, he speculates on how readers 200 years hence will read his chronicle (What faith! Could any journalist today have that same trust?). We will be nostalgic, he thinks, for the excitement of his time, but struck by its cruelty. And he imagines a future united Europe at peace after even more terrible struggles than his time knew. As he talks, he walks into our present, onto a 1981 Paris street.

An engaged chronicler.

Scola has Restif's abiding faith in the value of chronicling events with the enthusiasm of a participant observer. He might even be considered a Restif of our time. Politically a socialist (he is a member of the Italian Communist Party and aesthetically a sensualist, he works in this age's popular medium.

His *We All Loved Each Other So Much* is an exemplary landscape of modern Italian passion and politics in something of the way *La Nuit* is one for France in 1791. Beginning with the lives today of three very different men, in flashbacks it shows their common history with anti-fascist resistance efforts and their different choices after the war.

His *Down and Dirty* is a sav-

age view of the lumpenproletariat; a family of slum dwellers is headed by a brutal patriarch who presides over squalor with perverse grandiloquence. In *A Special Day* Sophia Loren and Marcello Mastroianni exemplify the tensions of World War II when an impoverished wife of a dedicated fascist must choose whether or not to shelter a homosexual anti-fascist. In all of Scola's films, it seems, people experience political contradictions in the flesh.

Dangers of political art.

Good art—not only well conceived but well executed—on political subjects is even rarer than good art whose subject is history. Scola can perhaps tread that dangerous ground because he respects the differences between art and life, never becoming the kind of socially critical artist that the American painter Fairfield Porter described who "treats art as though it were raw material for a factory that produces a commodity called understanding." There is in *La Nuit* a



Hanna Schygulla as a countess

joy in human expression beyond the realm of education or commentary.

This sensitive mix of art and politics comes out of the Italian cinematic tradition of neorealism. In fact the film is a testimonial to the richness of that source. The neorealists—the best known were Rossellini (whose son produced *La Nuit*), De Sica and Visconti—pioneered a socially involved postwar cinema. But it didn't depend on a crude equation between poverty and plain-Jane photographic style. Rather, as Peter Bondanella puts it in his excellent *Italian Cinema from Neorealism to the Present*, "They were seeking a new...language which would enable them to deal poetically with the pressing problems of their times." And poetry meant different things for each artist and so neorealism is not linked with a particular visual style or ideological axe to grind, but with a passionate concern to use the social tensions of the time as subjects for movie art. Scola stands in the first rank of a new generation drawing on those experiments.

"I try to understand our period in the light of past events that shaped today's world," Scola told the *New York Times*. "The French Revolution is an event that is still beginning. We are still in the process of resolving, of suffering from, the problems that were born 200 years ago."

More than that—we are at a crisis of another aging regime. Those conversations of 1791 about the turmoil of social change and fear of falling could be those of 1983—or 1984. ■

Unions

Continued from page 9

HRE Local 25 in Washington, D.C., has about 1,000 El Salvadoran members, many of them seeking political asylum in the U.S. Last August, the local filed suit against the INS and the State Department charging that the government had violated the Salvadorans' right to due process by refusing to allow them to remain in the U.S. while seeking asylum. The State Department argues that El Salvador's government is sincerely trying to improve the human rights situation in the war-torn country and that therefore the Salvadorans are not bona fide refugees.

Organizing.

While legal cases set important precedents and are a valuable tool in the fight to protect immigrant workers, HRE's business agent John Boardman says, "Ultimately, the only way to prevent employers from exploiting immigrant workers is to organize."

The challenge to organize immigrants—legal and illegal—is one that unions have not faced so concretely since before World War II. Unions such as the ILGWU, which have traditionally had many immigrant members, are expanding their programs and learning about immigrants who differ from the European immigrants of previous generations.

Among the ILGWU projects is a counselling center planned by Local 23-25, the union's largest local. The center, which opened in November, is staffed by lawyers, paralegals and social workers who speak Chinese, Spanish and other immigrants' languages. They help workers who have problems with immigration or social services, counsel families and offer help to those who find it difficult to adjust to life in the U.S.

Other unions, with no history of large numbers of immigrant members, must start from the beginning. For instance, the Communications Workers (CWA) faced an election at a telecommunications firm in Nashville, Tenn., where 75 Laotian workers were expected to be among the crucial voters. The union brought a Southeast Asian labor lawyer—also a recent immigrant—to assist in the campaign. He wrote leaflets the Laotians could understand, explaining to them how unions function in this country.

While the number of unions actively trying to attract immigrant members appears to be growing, there is disagreement about organizing the undocumented. The Houston Organizing Campaign—billed as the AFL-CIO's largest and most intensive organizing drive since the '50s—is a case in point. While many unions argue that organizing the unorganized in Houston means organizing the undocumented, and have set out to do so, an official of the region's building trades council announced that he favored the idea of deporting undocumented workers. One organizer working on the Houston project said it created confusion when "some

unions said, 'Everybody has a right to a union,' and then the building trades said, 'Let's round up the illegals and ship them out.'"

Immigration law reform.

The disagreement about organizing undocumented workers spills over into debate about proposed changes in the immigration laws. Last year's version of the Simpson-Mazzoli bill passed the Senate in August with AFL-CIO support for many of its provisions. An amended version of the bill came to the House during the lame duck session, but opposition from the AFL-CIO, Hispanic organizations, church groups, fruit and vegetable growers and others prevented the full House from voting on it. The bill was reintroduced in both houses in February, and House and Senate subcommittees held hearings in February and March.

What the AFL-CIO most wants from immigration reform is employer sanctions. Simpson-Mazzoli calls for fines of up to \$2,000 per worker for employers who "knowingly hire" the undocumented.

Peter Allstrom, director of Research and Communications for the AFL-CIO's Food and Beverage Department and a frequent spokesman on immigration issues, says the AFL-CIO believes sanctions will help guarantee "American workers first crack at jobs in their own country...and deny illegals the ability to undercut American workers."

Some opponents of sanctions argue that the threat of punishment will not stop employers from exploiting the undocumented. They point to a recent General Accounting Office (GAO) study of 20 industrialized countries with employer sanctions. According to GAO, "Employers were either able to evade responsibility for illegal employment or, once apprehended, they were penalized too little to deter such acts."

The AFL-CIO maintains that the vulnerability of undocumented workers is a reason to support sanctions. The Executive Council, in a statement issued February 24 from Bal Harbour, said, "Unable to protect themselves or to call upon government to enforce federal law on fair wages and working standards, such workers undermine the rights, the job opportunities and the working conditions of others."

Some labor lawyers and union organizers contend that sanctions would actually make undocumented workers more vulnerable and less willing to organize, because they would be denied rights they now have. Generally, the National Labor Relations Board and the courts have ruled that undocumented workers are "employees" and therefore protected by the National Labor Relations Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act, the Occupational Safety and Health Act and other federal labor laws.

But if employers could be punished for hiring undocumented workers, they would be likely to argue that undocumented workers should no longer have the protections accorded other employees. If that argument prevailed, as many labor lawyers believe it could, undocumented

workers would no longer be protected by the NLRA nor would they be entitled to minimum wage or other protections. As a result, hiring undocumented workers would be even more attractive to employers willing to take advantage of their status.

Without NLRA protection, undocumented workers would have no right to join or form a union. Consequently, unions that represent or organize undocumented workers would be forced to spend time and money fighting employer delays on representation elections and contract negotiations whenever undocumented workers are involved. In addition, even AFL-CIO staffers acknowledge that sanctions could obligate union-run hiring halls and referral services to check the legal status of workers requesting jobs, leading minority workers to mistrust the unions.

Current law allows some employers to hire temporary foreign workers if they can prove that no U.S. workers are available. One change the AFL-CIO doesn't want in any immigration reform bill is an expansion of this program. It also opposes any easing of the H-2 program's enforcement provisions or employer eligibility requirements.

Many national unions have not taken a public position on the Simpson-Mazzoli bill and a handful, including the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), the United Electrical Workers (UE), and the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), openly oppose it and throughout the country, particularly in areas with large numbers of immigrant workers, local unions and individual union leaders and activists publicly oppose Simpson-Mazzoli and are working with other groups to defeat it.

Explaining why some union members differ with the AFL-CIO on immigration reform, Mike Garcia, a business agent and organizer with Service Employees (SEIU) Local 77, said, "I don't think an immigration bill can help the problem. The social and economic situations are such that people are going to come here. We should study our history and do what the CIO [Congress of Industrial Organizations] did, equipping their locals to work with 20 languages if they had to.

"We have to organize and bring people into the unions, not seal the border, which you can't do anyway," Garcia said. ■

Debi Duke is a staff member of the American Labor Education Center.

Morrison

Continued from page 9

Morrison has focused his energies more directly. He landed a spot on the House Banking Committee's subcommittee on housing and community development. He wrote a provision in the Emergency Mortgage Assistance Act that would prevent a bank from foreclosing on a client who recently lost his or her job for at least 90 days, while the bank processes a Housing and Urban Development application for assistance. The committee recently reported out the bill.

Morrison's biggest success so far—for which even the *Register* credited him—concerns his promise to bring government aid to needy areas. Morrison convinced the House leadership to insist on a provision in the recently passed jobs bill that will target areas for federal funds based on high poverty as well as unemployment levels. Connecticut has a relatively low unemployment rate for the nation. But some of its cities are dirt poor; New Haven and Hartford, for instance, recently made the list of the country's 10 poorest cities. Now that the jobs bill will also target impoverished areas, New Haven, West Haven and other towns in Morrison's district will receive aid.

He hasn't yet written any legislation about credit allocation policies, but Morrison did get himself named to the Banking subcommittee on economic stabilization. There he still hopes to find ways to force industries to use government assistance for long-term productive investments, rather than for corporate mergers.

According to Morrison, his first 100 days in Congress have shown him how "porous" the institution is. He now believes a newcomer can make an impact if he or she so chooses. ■

Paul Bass is a reporter for the *New Haven Advocate*.

CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of **Beth Maschiot**.

NEW YORK, N.Y.

April 24

Celebrate 46th Anniversary Veterans Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Sunday, 12 noon, Statler Hotel, NYC. Hear Tom Wicker, Associate Editor *New York Times*; Sister Benedicta O.S.H. (Episcopalian nun); Martha Schlamme, actress-singer; Steve Nelson and Henry Foner call for nuclear freeze, against U.S. intervention in El Salvador. Admission, dinner \$20. Send check to VALB, Suite 239, 799 Broadway, NYC 10003. Or call OR4-5552.

RALLIES

April 24

Boston, MA, Atlanta, GA, Madison, WI, Davis, CA. Mass rallies by Mobilization for Animals, an international coalition of more than 250 groups in 14 countries, dedicated to direct action to end animal suffering in animal experimentation industry in America. For information contact MFA in your area or Mobilization for Animals, P.O. Box 337, Jonesboro, TN 37659. (615) 928-9419.

NASHVILLE, TN

June 3-4

"Arms Race vs. Human Needs: A National Conference on Jobs, Peace and Freedom." Workshops and plenary sessions on U.S. militarism in Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean; Jobs with Peace and Freeze campaign assessments; peace movement and the Left; Racism and the arms race; Third World women and disarmament. Speakers include: Cornel West, Jean Sindab, Herbert Hill, Tony Maz-

zochi, Hulbert James, Bertram Gross, Bell Hooks, Anne Braden. Registration \$10. Low cost housing available. Contact: Manning Marable, Director, Race Relations Institute, Fisk University, Nashville, TN 37203. (615) 329-8578/8577.

CHICAGO, ILL.

April 23

Meet Nicole Hollander autographing her new book, *Hi, this is Sylvia*. 2:00 p.m. Saturday, Guild Books, 2456 N. Lincoln Ave.

May 1

The Illinois Coalition Against the Death Penalty invites you to a special showing of the William Friedkin film that was never shown publicly until this year, *The People vs. Paul Crump*, 3:00 p.m., Facets Multimedia 1517 W. Fullerton. \$12.50 tax deductible donation. Meet our special guests at a reception following the film: Mrs. Lonie Crump (Paul Crump's mother) and Elmer Gertz and Donald Rothschild (Paul Crump's attorneys. For more information, contact Sandy Bietila or Mary Alice Rankin: (312) 427-7330.

May 5

Physicians for Social Responsibility Chicago Chapter meeting. Rush Medical Center, 1750 W. Harrison, Room 1245-Jelke. Thursday, 6:30 p.m. Speaker: Bernard Turnock, M.D., Chicago Board of Health. Topic: "The Effects of Federal Funding Cuts on the Health Care of Mothers and Children." C.M.E. credit—category II. Everyone welcome.

MARIN COUNTY, CA

May 1

Celebrate May Day with Marin Democratic Socialists of America on Sunday from 3:00 to 6:00 p.m. at the home of the Baylins, 180 Marguerite Ave., Mill Valley, CA. Phone: (415) 388-4739. We will honor Clemmie Barry and Don Stevens, the oldest socialists in Marin County. There will be food, drink and talk. \$5 donation.

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Energy

Continued from page 15

ential for dramatically changing the shape of naval warfare became obvious again in another form of fuel: nuclear power. Admiral Hyman G. Rickover is credited with laying the foundation for the nuclear power industry, mainly to make possible a nuclear powered navy.

An historical look not only makes the parallels in events more obvious, it also points out the cycles of an industry.

When President Jimmy Carter called for greater energy self-reliance in the '70s and discussion turned to the tremendous potential of the U.S. reserves of oil shale, most Americans didn't know that such talk was really an echo from the past. As early as 1850 there was talk of an oil shale boom as the answer to the nation's fuel needs. Since that time the idea has been dusted off whenever apparent oil supplies dry up.

To its own credibility, this book doesn't offer one of those happy endings where the heroes ride off into the sunrise of a peaceful solar economy. Several

writers do point out that with intelligent planning and a shift from monopolized energy systems, some truly amazing changes are possible from alternative energy sources.

Ridgeway, however, chooses to close his history with a chapter on the increasing monopolization of energy. "...[T]he most basic trend in the energy industries practically from their inception has been toward concentration and monopoly. An energy future based on the present energy industry will undoubtedly be an accentuation of the same," he writes.

A look at the numbers proves the point. Eight out of nine of the major firms producing photovoltaic cells (that convert sunlight into electricity) have been purchased by large corporations,

five of those corporations were oil companies.

And oil companies already have extensive control of coal production, natural gas production and distribution, as well as uranium processing. Add to that interlocking directorates between major banks and other energy companies and the future doesn't look so bright for the "soft path" of alternative energy.

Yet as history constantly shows, you must know the nature of the existing order if you're going to make any changes. And Ridgeway's fascinating book shows not only who is on top, but how they got there and how they plan to stay. ■

Paul Choitz writes frequently for *In These Times* on energy and environmental issues.

Greece

Continued from page 20

and other executives are also proud of new imports—shows from Brazil, France and Germany. On Friday night, classic films from Jean Renoir to John Ford are shown. "Many of these films can be seen nowhere else in Greece," remarked Michel Dimopoulos, a film critic in charge of foreign programming.

Funds for Greek cinema have tripled in the last year, and a government-backed film center is supposed to begin operations this year. There are now funds for cinema clubs throughout Greece,

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and one of the programmers is the Paris-based director of the film *Missing*, Costa-Gavras, a native of Greece.

But the government hopes to lure back more than Greek artists. Mercouri's call for the return of the Elgin marbles from the British Museum, passed as a resolution at the UNESCO meeting last July, triggered a new feeling of pride as letters poured in praising her action. The British government, however, has shown no willingness to return the archeological treasure, which was seized by an English tourist in the early 19th century.

Greeks have always had a love/hate relationship with their archeological service, one of the oldest bureaucracies in the country, dating from 1830. "Greece is filled with antiquities," explained ministry archeologist John Tzedakis. "The problem is to coordinate excavations with new industry and to look at the human factor."

That view seems to represent the overall goals of the cultural ministry as well. As Koutousis said, the Socialist view of Greek culture is "to show the continuity from ancient times to the present."

Jacqueline Swartz is a Toronto writer who writes frequently on European cultural affairs.

Sylvia

by Nicole Hollander



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G R E E C E ART



By Jacqueline Swartz

IN HER FIRST YEAR IN OFFICE AS Greece's minister of culture, Melina Mercouri has become such a sought-after emissary that she has had to put her foot down about travel.

"She just wants to do her job here," says an aide, "not go around the world giving interviews."

Lavishly welcomed in New York—where she received as much attention as the Search for Alexander exhibit she inaugurated at the Metropolitan Museum—and in Europe, Mercouri has been given a reception more typical of a film star (which she was) than of a government minister.

"Greece is *a la mode*," enthused the French newspaper *Le Monde*, which is fine with the revamped culture ministry. Its mandate from the new socialist government is to promote the country's contemporary arts, letters and music, bringing energy and order to fields that have long been victims of neglect and censorship.

Mercouri is surrounded by advisors in jeans who have never before walked the corridors of power. Filling their offices is the work of artists who were ostracized by the military junta—which started the culture ministry—and by the conservative government that followed.

"Before, the government put culture out of the grasp of the people. We want to change that," said ministry advisor Michel Koutousis. There are plans to bring culture to the provinces, develop a film industry and show the world that Greek culture did not stop at the Classical Era. The former poor cousin in the government—with the lowest budget of any department—the ministry has already received an increase of 50 percent and is now aiming for 1 percent of the national budget.

"Of course," remarked Koutousis, "we're always looking for solutions that don't cost anything."

A windfall came last summer when Melina Mercouri charmed the Japanese Embassy into donating 1,000 video-cassette machines for the culture-poor provinces. Indeed, if there's anything the ministry is messianic about it is promoting artistic life outside the cities.

"Every villager has the right to see masterpieces of ancient Greek sculpture," Mercouri said, "and to have access to cultural activity at his doorstep." This past year the countryside has also resonated with performances as 120 touring groups

gave villagers what was sometimes their first taste of live theater.

Plans are being implemented for cultural centers in each region of Greece, according to ministry officials, who emphasize that they must start virtually from scratch.

"When it comes to libraries, we're 200 years behind the rest of Western Europe," said Constantine Politopoulos, a ministry aide. Greece has appealed to the European Economic Community and UNESCO for funds for a network of libraries across the country.

Although there have been two Greek winners of the Nobel prize for literature—poets Odysseus Elytis in 1979 and George Seferis in 1963—only a small amount of modern Greek literature has been translated. Now the ministry will commission translations and give grants to publishing companies, Politopoulos

explains, particularly for inexpensive editions of Greek literature.

Greece also has a vibrant musical past and present, with a strong tradition of political commentary. But although native Greek music has a loyal following (American music has made fewer inroads here than elsewhere in Europe), composers face the widespread pirating of their work. This practice flourished in the *laissez-faire* climate of previous governments, whose most noticeable action toward music was to ban it. During the dictatorship of 1967-1974 the music of the popular composer Theodorakis was banned and he was imprisoned. Now a new law has been drafted that is designed to protect songwriters. And last August, for the first time, the music of the World War II Resistance was presented in a public concert.

Until now state-run TV, the primary source of entertainment for most Greeks, offered mainly American police serials and outrageously bad Greek soap operas. Like the Ministry of Culture, television was started by the junta, who put the army in charge of a second channel featuring military marches and propaganda.

At first, the current ERT (Greek Radio and Television) Deputy Director Vassilis Vassilikos, author of the book *Z*, was accused of a different sort of propaganda, as viewers complained of interminable interviews with writers and of obscure Greek art films. "They were trying to push high culture down the throats of peasants," a sociologist noted when the serial *Peyton Place* was taken off the air.

Dallas remained, however, and TV executives now talk about a gradual approach to improving the quality of programs. "Greek serials have been added that reflect real life," said Vassilikos. He

Continued on page 19

AMONG
THE

RUINS



Greek culture, insists socialist minister Melina Mercouri, is not just ancient history.

